



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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8 February 1993

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Zaire

Further on HCR Demands To Reshuffle Government

AB0502185093 Paris AFP in English 1845 GMT
5 Feb 93

[Text] Kinshasa, Feb 5 (AFP) - Officials of Zaire's High Council of the Republic [HCR] appealed Friday [5 February] for foreign troops to help restore peace and legal order in the troubled African state.

The HCR, a temporary ruling body overseeing Zaire's transition from dictatorship to democracy, met Friday under the chairmanship of Archbishop Laurent Monsengwo.

A HCR communique, telephoned to AFP by council spokesman Tshimpumpu wa Tshimpumpu, said "conditions for protecting people and goods haven't been decided. Also, legal institutions aren't functioning normally. This is why the (council) office confirms the need to obtain support from foreign troops for Zaire's Army with the goal of restoring and consolidating civil peace and republican lawfulness."

The High Council's statement also said "it had pursued talks with the prime minister on the subject of reorganizing the transition government." Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi promised to respect the High Council's "relevant decision." The communique did not specify the "relevant decision."

Nonetheless, the HCR would have asked the prime minister immediately to "reshuffle" his government with a team that is geographically and politically representative, Tshimpumpu said.

The High Council's statement also said "the Republic's presidential institution has not yet removed the obstacles that prevent the High Council of the Republic's normal functioning." The communique was referring to troops that are surrounding the People's Palace where the High Council is meeting, Tshimpumpu said.

The High Council office demands the removal of these hindrances so that its assembly can meet, he added.

Tshimpumpu emphasized that the "support of foreign military troops" should be understood as a presence that will "stand next to and with Zaire's Armed Forces."

Meanwhile, Belgium has decided to send water-purifying chemicals to Kinshasa to guarantee safe drinking water to residents of its former colony, according to a statement released Friday by Belgium's Council of Ministers.

Kinshasa is threatened with an "acute drinking water problem" and certain purifying products are out of stock," the official statement said.

Tshisekedi Makes 'Conciliatory Move'

LD0502220593 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] In Zaire, Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi has made a conciliatory gesture. As the political situation, until this evening, seemed to be completely deadlocked, and as some people feared that President Mobutu could announce the formation of a military government, the prime minister has declared that he is ready to reshuffle his government allowing the participation of the Presidential Movement in it. It is a conciliatory move, and it was announced this evening by the High Council of the Republic. Assane Diop just spoke to Lucien Tshinfunfu, president of the information committee of the High Council of the Republic.

[Begin recording] [Tshinfunfu] The prime minister has declared that he agrees to reshuffle his government in the direction hoped for by the High Council of the Republic. There would be a government that would include all the country's big political movements; that is, opposition parties and the parties that support Marshal Mobutu.

[Diop] Does this mean that Marshal Mobutu's legitimacy as head of state is no longer in doubt, even if with fewer powers?

[Tshinfunfu] The political compromise signed by the representatives of the National Sovereign Conference and by Marshal Mobutu's representatives recognized the act that included the constitutional measures for the transition recognizing Marshal Mobutu's authority as head of state for a period of two years—that is, for the transition period—and deciding that Etienne Tshisekedi would be Prime Minister. [end recording]

Mobutu Calls For 'Government of Public Salvation'

LD0602024693 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 2152 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Address to the nation by President Mobutu Sese Seko on 5 February—recorded]

[Text] My dear compatriots, once more Zaire, our country, is facing a disaster whose economic and human cost represent a hurdle on the path to democratization and development. The whole country, as well as foreigners, is today mourning the loss of relatives following the events that have taken place in Kinshasa since 28 January. As this unfortunately happened in similar circumstances, innocent people without any connection to looters and armed thieves were killed. I take this opportunity to repeat my most sincere condolences to the French Government and to the French people, as well as to the family of the late French ambassador. During his very short stay in Zaire, Mr. Philippe Bernard distinguished himself by his extremely courteous behavior. He was more concerned with fostering understanding

between

Zairian politicians than with stirring up hatred and division. I call on all of you who are listening to me now to pray for his soul.

My dear compatriots, the reasons for the catastrophic situation resulting from the events of 28 January are known to us all. The circulation of the new 5-million-zaire note was only an excuse to drive people toward civil disobedience with members of the Armed Forces in front. This is a program followed by extremists of an alleged radical change, who just suffered a defeat following their unsuccessful calls for so-called ghost-town actions. More and more, it appears that their aim is to undermine the nation, which we have been attempting to build together since our country became independent.

My dear compatriots, as early as 1964 I decided to reorganize, to restructure, and to modernize our army, be it the gendarmerie, the civil guard, or the various air, ground, and naval forces, and the nation paid the price, and this at a great cost to our people. Thanks to these efforts, our army became one of the best in Africa, and Zaire, our dear country, was regarded as one of the most stable on the continent. On 24 April 1990, following a two-month tour of the country devoted to popular meetings in which our people had the opportunity to express themselves on the functioning of the institutions and on the collaborators of the head of state, I published the results of my survey in a speech, a speech which initiated the democratization process. In this speech, I was careful to declare the nonpolitical character of the Army so that it remained totally at the service of the people. I was far from thinking that I was thus opening the floodgates to lies, disinformation, and manipulation within the Zairian Armed Forces, a game played by some political movements of our country.

We witnessed the first consequences of such a harmful action during the senseless days of 23 and 24 September 1991. They were repeated in October of the same year and several times again in 1992 in various towns of the country. The first time, I thought I could act like a good father; this is why I forgave and I lavished advice. Very recently, I initiated direct talks, first, with representatives of soldiers of the Kinshasa garrison and later with those of other garrisons from around the country. Following these talks and answering their concerns, I considered very closely the social problems faced by soldiers; namely pay, health, pensions, and the education of children. I thought I had established a contract of loyalty and confidence between the soldiers and myself, as Armed Forces supreme commander. But, unfortunately, the latest events in Kinshasa prove that the evil is much more deeply rooted. Indeed, some soldiers in the capital were unfortunately influenced by the politicians' disinformation. In my opinion, when confronted with such an army, contaminated with a deadly virus, a radical therapy is needed.

There is no other solution this time: All members of the Armed Forces who let themselves be led by the demagogic speeches of politicians will absolutely have to leave

the Army. An enquiry has already been ordered; charges will be brought and sanctions will be taken against those, civilians or soldiers, who got involved closely or remotely, with what happened. I will not allow looted goods to be resold either in military camps or in any public place. All those possessing these looted goods, whoever they might be—traffickers, buyers, or receivers of looted goods—must be harshly punished. The vocation of the Army is not only to ensure the defense and integrity of the territory and to guarantee the stability of the institutions but also, and mainly, to keep a watchful eye on the safety of people and of property. The Zairean people, who paid dearly to build up such an important Army and who continue to maintain it, cannot tolerate the fact that mutineers using weapons and equipment given to them to ensure the protection of the people use them to bully them, thanks to the irresponsible behavior of some politicians. This protection ought to be guaranteed also to foreign nationals who have chosen Zaire, our country, as their second home and who have here important material and moral interests. In short, nationals and foreigners ought to be able to rely on the head of state and on the government to guarantee their safety.

It goes without saying that those soldiers who remained worthy of their duty will benefit from special attention from the nation. I congratulate them for their bravery and their loyalty. Those of their comrades-in-arms who fell doing their duty will also be honored as they deserve. This is also the opportunity to congratulate the secretaries general of the ministries and their senior members for the work accomplished in particularly difficult circumstances.

My dear compatriots, the economic and social situation of our country is more than deplorable. Scarcely had we managed to regain the initiative of production, of marketing and of transport when fresh looting occurred once again to sap the goodwill of businessmen, both Zairean and expatriate. Unemployment and hunger have increased. Dread has gripped people's minds, and if a response (is slow in coming), that will mean the death of a whole people.

But, taking everything into consideration, the first urgent solution is certainly political, namely, the establishment of a government of public salvation, whose main tasks, in accordance with the expectations of the people, will be as follows:

1. To ensure the safety of people and goods;
2. To halt the deterioration in the economic and social conditions of the people; and
3. To speed up the process of democratization by organizing a constitutional referendum and elections at every level.

It goes without saying that the action of this government must be facilitated by a speedy harmonization of the texts governing the transition. I would like to repeat my appeal of 27 October 1992, which made possible the start

of a dialogue whose conclusions were to enable me to promulgate the constitutional act of the transition.

From our experience, we must see that the problems of legitimacy and legality that are dividing political circles mean that there cannot be a transition without conflicts. Let no one be mistaken. As long as elections have not been organized, we shall go from conflict to conflict.

I am awaiting this harmonization to define clearly the functions of the institutions and the mechanism of how they will work together. It is opportune to remember that if the running of the state is normally the task of the government, the main task of the head of state is to maintain national independence and the integrity of the territory.

To implement its economic and social mission, the government of public salvation will need to have a minimum program: for the stabilization and revival of the economy. In order to give effective support to the efforts of this government, an economic and social commission will be set up, consisting of Zairean and international experts, with full powers to initiate the measures to be taken in the short term aimed at halting the effects of inflation by drawing up and applying a minimum program aimed at defending, at all costs, the people's purchasing power, especially for basic food commodities. The support of our partners, both multi-lateral and bilateral, will of course be welcomed.

As for the composition of this government, you will agree with me, it will have to not only contain competent and credible personalities, but it will also have to be sufficiently representative of all our regions. No one won the elections; so we will have a truly neutral government. In such a context, characterized by the necessity of political cohabitation, human qualities are of capital importance, in particular, the qualities of the prime minister, who must be able to work with the president of the Republic without being from the same political faction as he is.

In this spirit, faced with the inability of Mr. Tshisekedi wa Mulumba to form a government of national unity, I am asking the Higher Council of the Republic, the follow-up body of the national conference, to present to me very quickly a person who will be entrusted with the formation of a government of public salvation. As for future elections, I shall support the establishment of a national electoral commission and the presence of foreign observers. I believe that this is the way that friends of Zaire should give us moral and material aid. Until such time, I think the political parties should occupy themselves more with their organization and their influence throughout the country. But we must also realize, in light of the unfortunate events we have just experienced, just how indispensable is a minimum of respect for the rules of the democratic game.

In any case, from now on, any call for violence, for the destruction of what still remains of our economic fabric, will be punished in accordance with the law.

As I have had occasion to say in other circumstances, political leaders have the important responsibility of educating our people. They have a mission to explain to them the links that must necessarily exist between political freedom, hard work, and respect for other people, both for their persons and for their goods.

Fundamental human rights and democracy both presuppose tolerance and respect for others, but they also presuppose a correct understanding of the balance between the necessary authority of the state on the one hand, and the indispensable protection of the rights of citizens on the other. That is why the government of public salvation will ensure scrupulously that the relevant provisions of the law dealing with the organization and functioning of the political parties are respected. Dear compatriots: Before finishing, I wish to say a word to all our foreign friends. All those who throughout the world have advice to give us will be welcome, but in spite of our current difficulties, in the name of our sovereignty we will never allow this advice to become orders aimed at recolonizing our country and our people.

My dear compatriots: I have just mentioned the different measures which, I believe, will enable us to escape from our current shame and political confusion. So that things may be clear to everyone, I will repeat what I have said:

One: The process of democratization set in motion on 24 April 1990 is irreversible, and will continue until the establishment of the institutions of the third republic. To enable this process to proceed properly, we have to harmonize the basic texts that are to govern the organization and exercise of power during the transition period.

Two: Undisciplined troops will be dismissed from the Army and severely punished, and a reorganization of the Army will be undertaken immediately.

Three: The High Council of the Republic is requested to present as soon as possible a person able to form a government of public salvation [salut public] who will enjoy the technical assistance of a national electoral commission and an economic and social commission.

Four: The constitutional referendum and the elections will be organized as soon as possible to provide the country with truly democratic structures and institutions.

Five: Until such time as this has happened, the political parties must function in strict accordance with the law and the rules of the democratic game.

Long live the Republic of Zaire!

Tshisekedi Refuses To Step Down

LD0602105393 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Marshal Mobutu is continuing his wrestling match with the transitional institutions of Zaire. [passage omitted]

There is no direct reaction from the prime minister at the moment. According to Tshisekedi's close associates, he will make his reaction known. As for Monsignor Monsengwo, chairman of the Higher Council of the Republic [HCR], he said simply: Let President Mobutu write to us. We will answer him.

Lucien Tshimpumpu, an HCR official who chairs the Information Commission, said that the response of the HCR bureau should be: Everyone should remain where he is. This is what he said to Ghislaine Dupont:

[Begin recording] [Tshimpumpu] It seems to me that the HCR will logically stick to the document governing the transition period. There is a prime minister who was elected by the National Sovereign Conference for the transition period. There is a president of the Republic, whose term in office was extended to cover the same period. There is also, of course, the HCR, which functions as a parliament during the transition period. So everyone should respect the law or the primacy of law, if you like.

[Dupont] Would the appointment of a new prime minister not improve the situation somehow?

[Tshimpumpu] On the contrary, I believe that the prime minister himself—aware of the situation according to the contacts he had with the HCR bureau—has committed himself to reshuffling his government in a way that is desired by all our people and by the HCR, that is, a government that would include representatives of all the main political groupings. In other words, it would avoid following a policy of exclusion. This is what the prime minister has decided to do, in agreement with the HCR, of course. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Paris AFP in English at 1039 GMT on 6 February reports that "Zairian Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi refused to step down on Saturday as his faceoff with President Mobutu Sese Seko escalated.

["The higher interests of the country demand that I retain my post," he told AFP, adding: "Each day that goes by sees the misery of the Zairian people deepen. We must continue the pressure to bring Mobutu into the democratic process, Tshisekedi said.

["The Zairian head of state called in a televised address to the nation on Friday for the High Council of the Republic to propose a new prime minister, because of 'the unfitness of Tshisekedi.'

["The address was a 'diversionary tactic' by Mobutu, 'who wants to divert attention from his isolation,' Tshisekedi said.

["Mobutu does not recognize the existence of the National Conference and refuses to participate in the democratic process," he added."]

Council Examines Message

LD0702130893 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1230 GMT 1230 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] We just received a communique from the High Council of the Republic [HCR], the government transition body. The HCR bureau met on 6 February under the chairmanship of Monsignor Laurent Mensengwo Pasinya. The HCR bureau immediately examined the head of state's message to the nation. Regarding this message, the HCR bureau noted that a resolution to all the issues it raised can easily be found within the institutional framework established by the National Sovereign Conference. The bureau will meet on 8 February to finalize the preparation of the next HCR session, which is scheduled to take place on 9 February at 1000 at the Palace of the People.

Sacred Union Rejects Proposals

AB0602205093 Paris AFP in French 1941 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Kinshasa, 6 Feb (AFP)—The Sacred Union, the group opposed to President Mobutu Sese Seko, categorically rejected today President Mobutu's proposals for resolving the current political crisis in the country.

The Sacred Union "observes that Mr. Mobutu, who still believes he can run national affairs at his own will, deliberately stepped out of the institutional framework prescribed by the Sovereign National Conference concerning relations between the three transitional institutions, namely, the president, the prime minister, and the High Council of the Republic [HCR]," a communique to AFP said.

"This is why the Sacred Union formally rejects the proposals made by Mr. Mobutu to resolve the current political crisis in the country," the communique added.

In an address to the nation on 5 February, President Mobutu denounced "Prime Minister Tshisekedi's inability to form a national union government," and asked the HCR to "very quickly present him with a fresh nominee who will be charged with forming a public salvation government."

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi said on 6 February in a statement to AFP that "the superior interests of the nation demanded that he remain in office."

UDPS Spokeswoman Comments

LD0602150193 Brussels Radio 1 Network in Dutch 1400 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Justine Kasavubu, spokeswoman of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress [UDPS] party in our country, says that Mobutu is intent on eliminating Prime Minister Tshisekedi. Kasavubu, a member of the Zairean prime minister's party, said in an interview with

RTBF Radio that Mobutu has already pulled the trigger, and the stray bullets will be for Etienne Tshisekedi this time.

Kasavubu went on to say that Mobutu's aim is to kill, because he knows that he has nothing more to lose. Mobutu is now trying to be provocative; his aim is that the people should stir themselves up again. The UDPS spokeswoman believes that the West should not wait for it to happen this time.

Kasavubu expects Tshisekedi and the transitional government to again make an appeal to the Western countries to intervene militarily in Zaire.

Mobutu Dismisses Tshisekedi

LD0602205793 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 2015 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Good evening. As announced earlier, here is the text of an important communication we have just received from the Presidency:

It is announced that Citizen-President Mobutu, marshal of Zaire, signed two decrees in Gbadolite yesterday, Friday, 5 February 1993. The first, number 93-011, dismisses Mr. Tshisekedi wa Mulumba from the task entrusted to him on 1 December 1992—to form a large national unity government.

The second, number 93-012, bearing the same date, entrusts the republic's chief public prosecutor with instituting judicial proceedings against Mr. Tshisekedi wa Mulumba for offenses against the internal and external security of the state.

The Presidency stresses that these decrees were issued in accordance with important decisions announced by the president of the Republic in his last address to the nation, an address whose importance was outlined in the interview he gave to the foreign press. Thank you and goodbye.

Mobutu Addresses Proposal for New Prime Minister

LD0602181693 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1315 GMT 6 Feb 93

[News conference with President Mobutu Sese by unidentified correspondents in Gbadolite on 5 February—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Mobutu] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, and welcome to Gbadolite. I place myself at your service without further ado to answer your questions and possibly satisfy your curiosity. Thank you very much.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, what is your reaction following last week's events and what political conclusions do you draw?

[Mobutu] The reactions are to be found in my message to the nation—which will be broadcast this evening—and

which has already been recorded and whose copy I trust you have received already. That's it!

[Correspondent] You are proposing a new political plan. You are asking the High Council of the Republic to present a prime ministerial candidate to you, someone who could lead a national salvation government. As this is not clear in the text, could you tell us if this candidate could be Mr. Tshisekedi?

[Mobutu] This is my answer to your question my dear friend: There is no new political plan. It was agreed upon last year at N'Sele—within the framework of the political compromise worked out—that it was the National Sovereign Conference—which is the High Council of the Republic today—that should propose a candidate for prime minister for me to appoint. So we are on the right path.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct] Etienne Tshisekedi?

[Mobutu] Well, Madame, my answer is as follows: Tshisekedi is so compromised in what has happened that I intend to write to the Supreme Court of Justice in order to open a judiciary file on him so that I may clearly see things.

[Correspondent] What are you specifically accusing him of in these events?

[Mobutu] Madame, I haven't accused him yet. Calm down, I haven't accused him yet. However, I would like to be brief on certain questions that I intend to put to trial in order to see things clearly.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] ...creator of this national salvation government?

[Mobutu] You have it in my message. I am asking for another name to be proposed to me.

[Correspondent] Another?

[Mobutu] That is what I said.

[Correspondent] You are asking for someone who collaborates or who can collaborate with you to be proposed to you. Are you going to collaborate with him?

[Mobutu] Come on, what is my role as head of state? What will be the role of the person who could be proposed as prime minister tomorrow? You know it. There is something that preoccupies me and which I don't understand; that is to see you journalists who I think are here to get information, ask questions and to find out exactly what concerns the life and the situation of Zaire today. I see that everything revolves around the name of one man, as if the whole future of Zaire is Tshisekedi. This worries me!

[Correspondent] Mr. President, what do you mean by the proposal of a new formation of the government very rapidly?

[Mobutu] This clearly means that things have been dragging on since last 22 November. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] If the High Council of the Republic does not propose any name to you, what will you do then?

[Mobutu] Well, I am waiting and if this is the answer, I will take measures.

[Correspondent] You address yourself to the High Council of the Republic. Monsignor Monsengwo is proposing a mediation. Do you consider him an arbitrator?

[Mobutu] You know, between us I would not like to speculate on legal matters. Arbitration is not included in the Constitution that still governs the Republic of Zaire and the new text has not been proclaimed yet. As you can see I talk about it in my text. What do I say? The harmonization of texts. We should agree on the document which should govern the transition period. That's all.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] the country in order to take over Zaire with the help of the Special Presidential Division [DSP] and thus affirm your authority. What do you think of this?

[Mobutu] I put the question to you: When you say somebody, who do you think he is?

[Correspondent] Tshisekedi says you are responsible for the current situation, of hindering the democratization process.

[Mobutu] Do you think, madame, that this is the first accusation Tshisekedi made against me? He accuses me every day and you know it!

[Correspondent] According to rumors, Mr. President, (you intend to send) Tshisekedi into exile [words indistinct]?

[Mobutu] My dear friend, I don't need to send anybody into exile in order to take his place. What do you mean by taking his place? I am head of state; he is after the presidency. My answer is clear: Let's go for it; it is not me who is afraid of elections, as you know! [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, Belgium, France, and the United States continue to consider Tshisekedi and his government the only government for the time being. There was an important meeting in Brussels yesterday and those governments are still of the same frame of mind. How do you answer them?

[Mobutu] I tell them that things are already complicated enough between your country and mine Mr. [name indistinct] so that I do not want to enter into...

[Correspondent] Mr. President, there is not only my country: France and the United States are also involved...

[Mobutu] Your country comes first, I accuse no one, I target no one, I tell you that your country comes first. I can tell you who wrote this report, this communique. I know a bit more and, as head of state, you will excuse me but I have to remain silent on certain issues. It is always easy to say Belgium, France, the United States, always easy.

[Correspondent] Indeed, but pressures by two large countries, two world powers, France and the United States are apparently not impressing you?

[Mobutu] My dear friend, I am frightened to see a journalist whom I know well, Mr. [name indistinct], speaking like that.

[Correspondent] I was asking a question, Mr. President...

[Mobutu] No, no, no! Let me finish. I am frightened, I am worried. As you know Zaire has been independent since 30 June 1960. You also know that your country has been taking measures—economic and financial measures—against my country since May 1990: not a dime is leaving Belgium to help Zaire financially, do you know that? How dare you set yourself as censors to say: we want this or that? According to which law, to which mandate can you do this toward a sovereign country belonging to the United Nations and a member of the OAU?

[Correspondent] There is also...

[Mobutu, interrupting] No, no, no! Answer my question: according to which law?

[Correspondent] It is not up to me to answer the question.

[Mobutu] Since you are asking me the question...

[Correspondent] I am paid to ask questions...

[Mobutu] I am paid, too, to ask details.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you do not seem to approve of advice coming from Western countries?

[Mobutu] Madame, advice yes; I say so in my address: advice coming from friends is always welcome. Advice—I love advice: I am given advice nearly every day, even last night, even this morning, shortly before I came here. I am not used to arriving late at meetings like this one. I was two, three minutes late because of phone calls. Always advice, welcome when given by friends. But no abuse of the kind we know; no, I stress it: no, no! We are not a colony, we are an independent country, sovereign, a member of the United Nations, a member of the OAU. If France, the United States, and Belgium consider themselves to be friendly countries giving advice, good. To give orders, lessons, to condemn, to disap... [pauses] No!

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, you are risking total isolation if you continue on that path.

[Mobutu] My dear friend, what do you call isolation? I spoke here of a mandate. Who gave this mandate to manage Zaïre to France, to Belgium, to the United States?

[Correspondent] There is also the (family) and perhaps the United Nations, too.

[Mobutu] Yes, but I am not telling you anything when I say that these powers have means which I do not possess to bring pressure to bear on these organizations which they set up themselves in the aftermath of World War II. They have a lot to say on that; this is not my problem, but my problem is to tell you—as a patriotic head of state who loves his country—orders, no; advice from friendly countries, yes. That's all.

[Correspondent] What are you going to do to once again attract investment from the Europeans who fled the country last week?

[Mobutu] My dear friend, before leaving my home to come here, fifteen Belgians who have been staying in Brazzaville for three to five days went to the Zairean Embassy in Congo to ask to be allowed to return to Kinshasa. They do not want to continue. Some of them were among those who had left Zaire two years ago, in 1991; now they find that the conditions of their reception are not good and they want to return to Kinshasa. I was asked the question; I said: No question of visas, they can return. That was not even 40 minutes ago.

[Correspondent] But 1,100 left Zaire!

[Mobutu] Well, I can tell you some more anecdotes, most of them left because they take advantage of planes and so on, and they will come back. The 15 from Brazzaville already mean something.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, Western countries dropped you and when we walk around and talk to people in Kinshasa they have only one name on their lips: that of Etienne Tshisekedi. Do you believe that you have some support in your country?

[Mobutu] Madame, the only way to answer your question is: you come from a democratic country, France, and you call me all sorts of names in your writings: dictator, etc. Well, it is rather extraordinary to see someone who is called a dictator wanting elections so badly. I keep calling for elections. Madame, between the two of us, this is the only way to prove to me that what you are saying is true, because when we hear certain voices, certain tones, I would not say that this is targeted but this is sometimes surprising.

[Correspondent] If you are defeated in the elections, Mr. President...

[Mobutu] I will concede defeat.

[Correspondent] Are you ready to let power go?

[Mobutu] I will concede defeat immediately, Madame, and I will even be generous.

[Correspondent] Do you feel like leaving power, Mr. Mobutu?

[Mobutu] What?

[Correspondent] Do you feel like leaving power today, Mr. Mobutu?

[Mobutu] Well, in the required democratic ways, Madame, i.e., to leave the seat when I am defeated.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, apparently one of the planned measures at the Brussels tripartite meeting yesterday would be—I talk in the conditional—freezing and seizing your property. Doesn't this make you afraid?

[Mobutu] Once more, afraid of what [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] Afraid of losing your fortune, for instance?

[Mobutu] You are mistaken. You are mistaken, because once more you see and you know it. Tell me who were the initiators of that project in that commission at the European Parliament which spoke of this problem at the end of last year? It was your compatriots.

[Correspondent] Yes, all right, but if France and the Americans get involved?

[Mobutu] No American got involved in it and France even less, I think. I will not say anything more about it.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, (you have remained in power) for...

[Mobutu] For 27 years, Madame.

[Correspondent] 27 years in power; the country is collapsing economically, there is looting, even military clashes. Do you not feel responsible for this situation?

[Mobutu] Madame, you see, I think that the situation in your own countries is very serious. I have nothing else to say, apart from what I am telling you, as you know. I am the first one to know it, but who is the one responsible for this situation? Is it President Mobutu? Lately, in your newspapers and your media, you have presented all this and some political tendencies in your countries have presented it: March, general strike, stoppage of this, of that; all this paralyzes. We have embarked on a way, in a process which can lead the Republic of Zaire to the path of democratization and proclaim the Third Republic as being the democratic republic. Well, the real authors of the things you deplore is not [passage indistinct] you know them, they are here and they do not hide it.

[Correspondent] [Passage indistinct] ...the government is no longer sitting today, nor is the High Council of the Republic.

[Mobutu] What government, Madame? What government?

[Correspondent] In any case, the High Council of the Republic is not sitting. Doesn't this really mean the failure of Zairean democratization today?

[Mobutu] You can say failure, Madame, and I agree with you. But to say that this failure is due to the fact that the High Council of the Republic is not sitting—but what government? You know very well that on 1 December 1992 there was a presidential decree. Tshisekedi is no longer the prime minister heading the government, but the prime minister forming a government. That is the nuance.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct] (?you are talking) democratization. You are playing the game, since you say you have asked the High Council of the Republic [as heard], but for five days this High Council of the Republic has been trying to meet and it cannot because your troops are surrounding the palace and it cannot meet. Today you are holding a news conference. Tele-Zaire is here. Yesterday the prime minister held a news conference, Tele-Zaire wasn't there, there was an unfortunate break-down in TV5 which deprived the Zairean people of the news conference by Tshisekedi. Might one not have doubts about this democracy, and the genuine desire for democracy? (?These are) recent examples?

[Mobutu] Once again, for my Belgian journalist friends, everything has to be centered around Tshisekedi.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct] ...it could be any Tom, Dick, or Harry, and it would be the same thing. We have seen that the prime minister entrusted with forming the government held a news conference, Zairean television wasn't there, and today it is.

[Mobutu] How long is it since he was entrusted with forming the government?

[Correspondent] A month, a month and a half, and he told us yesterday...

[Mobutu, interrupting] Since 1 December, that makes exactly two months and five days, today.

[Correspondent] He told us yesterday that he had contacted the movement [mouvance; a pro-Mobutu organization], that he had contacted the MPR [Popular Movement for Renewal], that he had contacted Mr. Nguza's party, the UFERI [Union of Federalists and Independent Republicans], and that he has not yet had the names from the MPR at least, although those people had said they were ready to work with him, but they haven't given him names since then. That is what he is saying. You are saying something else. But we...

[Mobutu, interrupting] Mr. Francois, perhaps I shall tell you lies after the truths you heard from Tshisekedi...

[Correspondent] We just want to know.

[Mobutu] Allow me to continue. First, calm down. Don't get excited, right? We asked Tshisekedi this, to form a

government of national union—I repeat this forcefully—that would represent all our political trends and all the regions of Zaire.

Why? Quite simply because no one won the elections. I mean no one. No party can boast today: I am the most important, I am whatever. We don't have that. No one has yet won any elections. Since this is the case, what is asked of a prime minister is that he bear this in mind, and not act as if Zaire belonged to him, as if Zaire was him. That's all.

But when he says, as I know, to the people he is consulting: The 21 ministers I have I am keeping; I am asking the MPR and UFERI for five names; Do you find that this is a representative government of broad national union? That is the question. To my way of thinking it is something else.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you speak of cooperation between the government and the Presidency. How, specifically, do you see the sharing of power with the Government of Public Salvation which you are calling for so earnestly?

[Mobutu] My reply is simply this: It is very simple. I think everyone here is well educated. A head of state is a head of state; a prime minister is a prime minister; the speaker of the parliament is the speaker of the parliament. There is a hierarchy when speaking of institutions, and I am head of state. The prime minister is not in my service, he is in the service of the country. The speaker of a parliament, currently, all right, there is parliament, there is the High [Council]; they are not in my service, they are in the service of the country. I must speak of them with great respect, [words indistinct] that they are not in my service. But I cannot—(?if) someone asks me, for example: What do you think of Monsignor Monsengwo, what do you think of Tshisekedi—just say any old thing. I described all this in the message you have in front of you.

[Correspondent] But in practice [passage indistinct]

[Mobutu] What?

[Correspondent] In practice?

[Mobutu] That means that we should agree; and to this end, there has to be in the position of prime minister someone who realizes that he is heading a government of transition, and that since transition is a very difficult and very delicate period, lots of adjusting has to be done. That's all.

[Correspondent] [passage indistinct] ...in Zaire. Who is leading the country?

[Mobutu] Who is leading the country? Who are you facing now, Madame? Why did you come to Gbadolite?

[Correspondent] You and you alone?

[Mobutu] Say that again.

[Correspondent] You and you alone?

[Mobutu] It is up to you to answer that. You ask: who is leading the country? There is a head of state, there are still fiddlers surrounding the formation of a government, but there is a head of state. It is not because there is unrest in a country that it stops existing. No. We have difficulties, we have problems, we attempt to solve them, but we are still a state, Madame, a nation.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, how serious is the fact that a prime minister, a government, even a transitional one, cannot enter their ministry, exert control over the bank, over the Army?

[Mobutu] My dear sir, once more, I am surprised, since legal texts exist. The transitional government you are mentioning does not exist anymore, the secretary generals have been given the responsibility of ensuring the interim, it is clear, until the setting up of a regular government, that's all.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, two out of the three bodies of the transitional period demand an intervention by foreign troops in Zaire. If foreign troops were to enter this country what would you do?

[Mobutu] What?

[Correspondent] Two out of the three bodies of the transitional period—the High Council of the Republic and Prime Minister Tshisekedi—demand intervention by foreign troops in Zaire now. What do you think of these calls and what would you do if foreign troops were to enter this country?

[Mobutu] If you read carefully the Constitution of the Zairean Republic, any call for foreign troops is my privilege, it belongs to the head of state; this is clear. The Constitution is there, there is no constitution yet to replace the existing one. The Constitution is clear: All those calling on foreign troops must be prosecuted.

[Correspondent] Will you prosecute the High Council of the Republic or...

[Mobutu] Well, I wrote to consider prosecution [as heard].

[Correspondent] When you call on the High Council of the Republic to appoint a new prime minister, are you not implicitly recognizing the High Council of the Republic's decisions, its existence, while only a short while ago you were saying that you were not recognizing it?

[Mobutu] Don't put in my mouth words I never said here. I was sufficiently clear: There were meetings between the presidency and the CNS [Sovereign National Conference] last year. During these meetings which took place in La N'Sele, two of them, if I remember well, we agreed on an all-round political compromise. What does this overall political compromise say: power sharing. In the Constitution it is said

that the head of state appoints and, if need be, dismisses. This time, according to these agreements, the Sovereign National Conference proposes someone and, in turn, I appoint. To remain proper, I followed this guideline since the political compromise; even if it is flawed, it is still committing me. That's all, I remained faithful to the line.

[Correspondent] Monsignor Monsengwo is inviting you to a tripartite meeting in order to unblock the crisis. What are you going to reply?

[Mobutu] As you know, I am in contact with him daily. I do not have to reveal to you here that this morning we have talked already three times. We talk all the time. There is no break-up between Msgr. Monsengwo and me. It is not a sensational revelation, but three times this morning—at 1100 hours, after my recording, and now before coming, i.e., three times. Thus, you see that there is no break; we are always in contact.

[Correspondent] Have you already given your reply?

[Mobutu] To the archbishop? He knows it.

[Correspondent] What was it?

[Mobutu] Oh dear, let us not go far.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, do you intend to sign the act on transition issued by the National Conference or do you consider it to be worthless?

[Mobutu] Madame, reread my text. I talk about the harmonization of texts, which clearly means that we must all agree about a document which we are going to call: The Act on Transition. There are things in the act which I cannot accept. Friends know it; there are many things which I would not impose on anyone, but we must agree around a table and issue one text only for ruling the Republic of Zaire during the transition. That is all.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, [passage indistinct] on a very precise point, once more, as it is not very clear, you have just said that you would continue to act within a compromise. Thus, this means that if the High Council of the Republic presents to you a candidate, you will accept him. My question, which was asked earlier, is: If this candidate is again Tshisekedi, will you accept him?

[Mobutu] No, for reasons which I mentioned earlier. Because of him, (?many) soldiers fired at each other. There must be a judicial inquiry that can enable me to see things clearer before I say yes to things of this kind. That is all.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs made harsh statements about you.

[Mobutu] Yes.

[Correspondent] And you did the same. What do you think of Minister Claes's behavior?

[Mobutu] I am not here to judge the attitude or the behavior of a foreign minister who has many things, even in diplomacy, to do which concern his country. Yesterday or the day before that, I did not make very harsh statements with regard to your foreign minister. I said some truths, but do not say that they were very harsh statements. I said this clearly, and this is the second time that I am repeating it—his party is the sponsor of Tshisekedi's party. You know it and everybody in your country knows it; you, Mr. Rekmans, you know it. I am not inventing anything when I say that the Belgian Socialist Party, Flemish wing, of Claes sponsors the UDPS [Union for Democracy and Social Progress]; I am not inventing anything. You know it and everybody knows it and this is what I recalled. These are not harsh statements.

[Correspondent] Do you consider that the behavior of the Belgian Government depends on the attitude of the Flemish Socialists?

[Mobutu] Do not put words in my mouth. I am only surprised that someone in the party who is sponsoring a Zairean political party, well, can participate in international meetings dealing with Zaire. Do you find this attitude logical? Well, I do not.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, a small question...

[Mobutu] There are no small questions, Madame.

[Correspondent] A practical one. Do you know today's price of a small piece of bread in the market?

[Mobutu, laughing] Well Madame, between us, I am in Gbadolite. You have perhaps surprised me with your question. I got this information yesterday. Almost every week bread, which was at such and such a price, has leaped upward and [passage indistinct] and all that. I have so many things in my head, I cannot lie to you here, but I have that on my desk in my residence because every week a bag of cassava flour, corn flour, salted fish, of so many kilograms, etc. The list of these foodstuffs, Madame, is so long and to memorize the price of a loaf of bread of 35 grams and one of one kilogram, one must be a magician; and since I am not one, you will understand me.

[Correspondent] A small loaf of bread costs 1.5 million zaires. How are the people going to be able to continue to face this inflation?

[Mobutu] I am talking about that in my message, the tumbling down must be stopped.

[Correspondent] How do you think you would solve that?

[Mobutu] Well, with a good government with a good program and a plan of action we will get out [of this crisis]. Dear Sir, Zaire is not condemned to remain in the confusion prevailing in the country now. This is my answer.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

[Mobutu] Thank you.

Kenya

Moi Denies Election Rigging, Praises Odinga Position

EA0602203593 Nairobi KNA in English 1540 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Nairobi, 6 Feb (KNA)—His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today held a meeting with KANU (Kenya African National Union) officials and KANU MPs from Rift Valley Province for a post-mortem of the political situation after the recent multiparty general election. Addressing the leaders in Nakuru State House, President Moi reiterated the government's commitment to the security of the people and their property.

He pointed out that during the run-up to the general elections KANU's observance of peace and mature approach to their campaign was mistaken for weakness. The president said time had come for the ruling party to reassert herself and correct this distorted picture.

Regarding allegations that KANU had rigged the elections with the help of Britain, the president dismissed them as fabrications to cover up the evils of the opposition. He pointed out that in places such as Luoland, polling stations had been violently overrun by the opposition.

Criticising the opposition for their belligerent stands, President Moi, however, appreciated the mature approach to politics by the FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Kenya chairman, Mr Odinga. He said KANU welcomed Mr Odinga's declared intention to cooperate with KANU and the government for faster social and economic development.

The president urged KANU leaders to speak with one voice and embark on cementing unity and understanding among the wananchi [citizens]. The president made it clear that he would not hesitate to sack public servants who undermine the government.

On receiving reports from the leaders about plans by the opposition to reintroduce fresh clashes in Molo, Chebilat, Sondu, and Londiani, to tarnish the name of the government, President Moi said the government will take decisive and swift measures. He therefore told police to be extra vigilant and crack down on those bent on inciting violence. [passage omitted]

Kibaki Backs Odinga as 'Official Opposition Leader'

EA0702173593 Nairobi THE SUNDAY NATION in English 7 Feb 93 p 1

[By Emman Omari and Ngugi wa Mbugua]

[Excerpt] Democratic Party of Kenya [DP] Chairman Mwai Kibaki yesterday [6 February] said he recognised Jaramogi Oginga Odinga as the official opposition leader in parliament. Speaking to the "SUNDAY NATION" on the telephone, Mr Kibaki, the MP for Othaya, said:

"What we are doing is to acknowledge the rules in the standing orders that the party with majority seats in the opposition becomes the official side and I support Mr Odinga in this matter".

The FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]-Asili national treasurer, Mr Harun Lempaka, condemned the move as "a betrayal of Kenyan voters". "If the two parties' aim is to isolate Mr (Kenneth) Matiba and our party, then they are not interested in helping the majority of Kenyans who voted for them," Mr Lempaka said.

Mr Odinga's FORD-Kenya party and Mr Matiba's FORD-A have 31 seats each in the seventh parliament, while the DP has 23.

A "NATION" report yesterday indicated that FORD-K and the DP intended to join hands under Mr Odinga to form the official opposition in parliament.

Under the amended parliamentary standing orders, the official opposition party must have not less than 30 MPs. [passage omitted]

UK's Chalker Comments on Aid to Kenya, Somalia

EA0602073193 Nairobi KBC Television Network in English 1700 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Passages in which Lynda Chalker, UK minister for overseas development, speaks are recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Unidentified reporter] Asked to comment on allegations by leading opposition figures in Kenya that Britain favoured Kenya African National Union during the just-concluded elections, Baroness Chalker responded:

[Chalker] That's absolute nonsense, absolute nonsense. We have always said there should be multiparty elections and we were very pleased that there are multiparty elections. We held no brief for any single party. Any government has to work with the government of the day until that government is replaced by a new government at the time of an election. But I hope very much that I shall be able to listen to members of all shades of opinion, and I have met some of the opposition leaders in Kenya when they've been in London before, and I hope that I shall meet them here because you only improve the situation by listening to one another and talking to one another.

[Reporter] On the security issue in Northeastern Province, owing to the influx of Somali refugees and whether the international community can help, she had this to say:

[Chalker] What I think has to happen is that not only is local policing but there has to be some help. [sentence as heard] How it will be done by the international community, one cannot quite see at the moment, but that is why

there are many discussions going on about how to help in Somalia. I have always insisted that the international community must look to help in Kenya as well, because Kenya has received so many of the Somali refugees.

[Reporter] She also spoke on the issue of aid to Kenya:

[Chalker] First of all, the resumption of aid will depend on a sound economic program to be followed by the whole country. To make that successful the government needs to work with the opposition and put Kenya first. You can have party political differences in any parliament, just as we do have at home, but this is a time when the nation must be put first. I hope to talk to and listen to all shades of opinion back in Nairobi, and that people will come together for the good of Kenya.

[Reporter] Baroness Chalker flew to Wajir to visit British-aided projects through Oxfam and was met at Wajir airstrip by the local DO [District Officer]-One, Mr. Davis Cuelogoy. She handed over 4.8 tonnes of corned beef from the World Food program to be distributed to hunger-stricken families in the area. Baroness Chalker visited the shelter project at Eshaelity where she was told shelter has been availed to 2,705 families at a cost of 2.4 million Kenya shillings. She also toured Al Adow to view rehabilitation and women self-help projects. The British minister had this to say after her extensive tour:

[Chalker] Well, I think that the local Wajir volunteers have done a very good job in helping the people who have come to this area. They are helped obviously by Oxfam and by UNICEF to some degree, but the critical thing that they seem to have grasped here is to persuade people to do things with them so that the nomadic people who are here at the present are doing things. They are learning to grow crops, and we saw the kitchen garden over by the well. They are learning to do things which they've not done before.

Demonstrators Throw Objects at UK High Commission

EA0602191093 Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 6 Feb 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Muliro Telewa, Ahmedsiad Mohamed Abdi, and agencies: "Chalker Clarifies British Stand"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In a demonstration that took place while the minister was outside of Nairobi, members of the Operation Moi Out [OMO] group pelted the British High Commission building with rotten eggs, tomatoes, and garbage.

They carried placards charging Britain with supporting KANU [Kenya African National Union] and denouncing President Moi. There were no reports of arrests and the protesters later dispersed. [passage omitted]

The opposition demonstrators totalled approximately 50 and after protesting outside the British diplomatic premises they marched to the U.S Embassy where they expressed support for the American stand.

KSC Leader Calls Alliance Demonstrations 'Unethical'

EA0502200593 Nairobi KNA in English 1335 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Nairobi, 5 Feb (KNA)—The chairman of the Kenya Social Congress [KSC] and member of parliament for Kitutu Masaba, Mr George Anyona, said today that it was unethical for opposition alliance to protest or demonstrate against the visit of the British Minister Lynda Chalker into the country.

Mr Anyona told the opposition alliance to desist from behaving like "high school boys".

The MP said although he learnt of the Chalker's visit through the press, he had received an invitation card to a reception party in honour of the British minister.

The MP challenged the opposition alliance [to] minimise controversies.

Somalia

Police Force Resumes Duties in Mogadishu

EA0602183793 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1045 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] The Somali police force officially began operations in Mogadishu today for the first time in two years. More than 2,000 members including officers, sergeants, corporals, and privates were chosen to take part in activities such as maintaining law and order, the distribution of assistance, accompanying food convoys, and collecting arms. The operation today [words indistinct] overseeing activities at 36 food distribution centers in Mogadishu in collaboration with the Unified Task Force.

Our SONNA [SOMALI NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY] reporter, Aways Robleh, who visited various food distribution centers this morning, says the public was satisfied with activities at the centers. No weapons were in sight during the distribution, the police used only light sticks, and the people behaved in an orderly manner. A police officer told our reporter that the food distribution will take place every day, except Friday. He said food will not be collected by children and advised that adults should not send children to collect food.

The police operations in Mogadishu today come in the wake of similar operations in the districts of Marka, Kismaayo, Garoowe, Baidoa and Xuddur, with other districts and regions expected to form police forces soon.

Land Mine Explosion Kills 5 in Somaliland

AB0802114593 Paris AFP in English 0915 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Mogadishu, Feb 8 (AFP)—Five Somalis, including three employees of the International Committee of the Red Cross, were killed in a land mine explosion in northwestern Somalia, the ICRC said here Monday [8 February]. Three other Somali ICRC employees were injured when the ICRC vehicle they were riding in hit the mine Friday [5 February] near the town of Las Anod in Somaliland, the ICRC said. The team was one of 17 working in a veterinary program sponsored by the ICRC to redevelop livestock breeding in Somalia.

Tanzania

CCM's Kolimba Cautions Political Parties

EA0602170093 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1000 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Dar es Salaam—The Revolutionary Party [CCM] secretary general, the Honorable Horace Kolimba, has strongly condemned the habit of incitement adopted by the leaders of certain political parties in the country which, he said, could cause the public serious harm. He stressed that the current changes in the country should not be used to upset the existing peace and stability but should be used to strengthen democracy. Kolimba stated that, henceforth, the CCM government will make sure that the Constitution and the law of the land are not violated under the pretext of implementing change.

Addressing thousands of Dar es Salaam region residents at the culmination of celebrations marking the 16th anniversary of the CCM at Mnazi Moja grounds today, Kolimba declared that the leaders of certain political parties were using the period of change to sow hatred and enmity on religious, tribal, and racial grounds. He pointed out that for a long time the CCM had been ignoring the insults to its leaders by certain opposition leaders. Kolimba praised some political parties, however, whose policies he said are aimed at genuine democracy. [passage omitted]

[Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili at 1300 GMT on 5 February adds: "The CCM secretary general, the Honorable Horace Kolimba, has said the CCM governments [of the union and Zanzibar] would use their powers to stop violations of the Constitution and the law by the leaders of some political parties in the country. Kolimba said this today following the recent disturbances which took place in Dar es Salaam at the end of a political rally addressed by the leader of the Democratic Party, Reverend Christopher Mtikila and the subsequent illegal demonstration staged in Dar es Salaam and fanned by the National Convention for Construction and Reform led by Brother Mabere

Marando demanding the release of Rev. Mtikila, who had been arrested in connection with the disturbances.

["Addressing CCM supporters who marched to Mnazi Moja grounds in Dar es Salaam [today] from Ilala, Temeke, and Kinondoni districts marking the 16th anniversary of the CCM, Kolimba said that if such acts were allowed to continue unchecked, they could cause bloodshed in the country. He expressed the hope that all peace-loving Tanzanians would support moves to control such acts, which had spread throughout the country, in order to maintain peace and stability, and to protect the property and lives of Tanzanians. Kolimba was the guest of honor at the celebrations on behalf of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the CCM chairman, who is visiting citizens affected by floods in Lushoto and Korogwe districts in Tanga region [northeastern Tanzania]. The CCM secretary general said that if these parties want to lead Tanzania then they should do so by constitutional and lawful means and not through insults, illegal demonstrations, disturbances, and fanning hatred and intrigues among Tanzanians on the basis of creed, color, tribe, and religion. He added that the CCM would continue to build nationalism irrespective of one's color, religion, or tribe."]

Uganda

Museveni Marks National Resistance Army Anniversary

EA0702201793 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1400 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Celebrations to mark the 12th anniversary of the National Resistance Army, NRA, have been held at Lubiri parade grounds [in Kampala]. They were presided over by President Yoweri Museveni.

Addressing the people who attended the celebrations, President Museveni urged both officers and men of the NRA to banish all forms of indiscipline and corrupt tendencies in the Army in order to concretize the successes they have hitherto attained. Lieutenant General Museveni explained to the soldiers that since 1981 the NRA has grown from strength to strength because of following both correct political and military lines, as well as being in close harmony with the population. He urged them to be harsh with the enemy, but always in harmony with the population.

On the current exercise of reducing the forces, President Museveni assured Ugandans that the exercise should not be misinterpreted as capable of leaving the country vulnerable to both internal and external threats. He said that the trimmed forces together with the local defense forces will be capable of maintaining security throughout the whole country. The president explained that the exercise was undertaken to save money, re-equip the Army, and to improve the welfare of soldiers. He said the

money saved would also help to facilitate national economic growth. He, however, noted that the improvement of the soldier's welfare will depend much on the lowering of inflation, as well as improvement of tax collection. He said these are threats that are currently being addressed by the government.

The president also said that the government will continue with its exercise of restructuring the economy which is apparently paying in positive dividends. He explained that as a result, introduction of forex [foreign exchange] bureaus will earn the country about \$29 million dollars this financial year as opposed to \$100 million dollars from coffee, which has been the country's major foreign exchange earner. [sentence as heard] He said that the government is committed to establishing a versatile economy capable of surviving under any circumstances. He said restructuring is the only way the government can better handle the welfare of all Ugandans, including the NRA.

On democracy, Lt. Gen. Museveni assured Ugandans and members of the NRA that the principle that will guide government will be the sovereignty and the wishes of the population. He noted that this course will not be successfully disrupted by anyone either from within or outside the country. He said that in 1994 there will be free and fair disciplined general elections without cheating and all people of goodwill will ensure that justice of the people of Uganda is done.

The president cautioned Ugandans to resist the habit of expecting development to come from outside the country, because the people themselves should show that they are interested in peace.

On the debate about the elections of the constituent assembly, the president said that the matter was discussed in the National Executive Committee, where it was decided that a new Constituent Assembly should be elected. He said that this will ensure that members who will participate in the debate are directly elected by the people because the present NRC [National Resistance Council] has some members who are there because of their contribution to the struggle, but not elected. He said he does not personally agree with people who assume that they should participate because they are experienced. He also noted that he does not see the reason why a new Constituent Assembly should not be elected as the population wished in their submissions to the constitutional commission. He said that if the wishes of the majority are not followed it will undermine the otherwise good intentions of the exercise.

President Museveni also called on African leaders to try to resolve conflicts through dialogue rather than military means. He said it is not necessary to squander resources by importing arms from developed countries, since Africa has no technology of manufacturing of these arms.

Speaking on the same occasion, the Army commander, Major General Mugisha Muntu, said that the NRA is committed to the protection of the will of the people more so now that for the first time the people are freely undertaking the vital exercise of constitution making. He said that once the people's rights and aspirations are protected, prosperity and development will be smooth. The Army commander saluted the heroes and NRA veterans who have retired after readily serving the nation and called on the population to assist them to integrate in society.

The celebrations were attended by the prime minister, Mr. George Cosmas Agyebo, and other Cabinet ministers.

Goldstone Committee To Investigate Recent Arms Find
*MB0502161993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1439
GMT 5 Feb 93*

[Text] Pretoria Feb 5 SAPA—A committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry is to include the recent discovery of arms and ammunition in a vehicle traveling from Swaziland to South Africa in its public inquiry to be held in Durban on February 15. Announcing this in Pretoria on Friday [5 February], Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the committee had been established a few weeks ago to inquire into the illegal importation of automatic weapons and explosive devices into South Africa.

"The commission has taken note of allegations made this week concerning the illegal carriage of arms, ammunition and explosives in a motor vehicle travelling from Swaziland into South Africa and that the persons responsible therefore are members of (the African National Congress's armed wing) Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation]." The committee would be chaired Mr M N Sithole, with members Mr L S van Zyl and Mr S Roberts.

"At the request of the commission, that committee will inquire into the aforesaid allegations," Mr Justice Goldstone said. The venue for the inquiry will be announced later.

Anybody with information about these allegations are requested to address them to the commission at Private Bag X858, Pretoria, 0001.

ANC To Cooperate

*MB0502183993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1750
GMT 5 Feb 93*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress Department of Information and Publicity]

[Text] The African National Congress has received the communication from the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, announcing its intention to investigate the allegations that members of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] were involved in bringing arms to South Africa via Swaziland.

The ANC is as concerned as anyone to get to the root of this matter, and will co-operate with the commission's investigation to the best of its ability.

ANC Seeks Access to Detainees

*MB0502171293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1522
GMT 5 Feb 93*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress]

[Text] At the security bilateral today, the government raised the Swaziland border incident. The ANC [African National Congress] cannot simply accept the information that the government submitted to us today. We

regard it necessary for the ANC to undertake an investigation into this incident. We cannot at this stage confirm whether the persons that are in South African Police custody are ANC members. We expect that the government will grant us free access to them in order to facilitate our investigation.

The ANC confirms that, with the suspension of the armed struggle in August 1990, an undertaking was given that no further infiltration of MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—ANC military wing] combatants and arms would take place. This was reaffirmed at the DF Malan accord.

The ANC is fully committed to the negotiating process and the need to move as fast as possible to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy. Such a settlement should also cover all security and armed formations in South Africa. Issued by: MC Ramaphosa, Secretary General, African National Congress, 4 February 1993

Government To Grant Access

*MB0502183393 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1600 GMT 5 Feb 93*

[Text] The Law and Order Ministry says the ANC [African National Congress] may have access to the three people arrested in connection with arms smuggling this week only after preliminary investigations have been completed. The three Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK; ANC military wing] were arrested earlier this week in connection with an arms find on the Swaziland border.

The ANC, which is to send senior officials to Natal early next week to investigate the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the arms, has complained that its efforts to determine the truth have been hampered because the police will not give them access to the three MK members.

The Law and Order Ministry said that, as was the usual practice when criminal charges were being investigated for submission to the attorney general, the men would be available for questioning once the preliminaries had been completed.

PAC Calls Reports on Suspending Armed Struggle 'Untrue'

*MB0502171093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1612
GMT 5 Feb 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Feb 5 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] on Friday [5 February] described as untrue reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha said leaders of the organisation at the last meeting with the government in Botswana had undertook to suspend armed struggle.

The PAC, in a statement in Johannesburg, said at the Gaborone meeting the two parties reached common

understanding that the discussions of the armed struggle were part and parcel of the discussion of the broader political conflict and could not be treated in isolation.

The two parties also agreed there could be no unilateral suspension of the armed struggle as the mutual cessation of hostilities had to be negotiated.

"At the end of that meeting, Mr Botha himself told a media conference that the PAC gave no undertaking of suspending the armed struggle and that further discussions will continue," the PAC said.

PAC Proposes Nationalization of Agricultural Land

MB0502152693 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 Feb 93 p 3

[Report by Jo-Anne Collinge: "All Farms Belong to the State, Says PAC"]

[Text] The PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] proposes to nationalise and redistribute all agricultural land, so that no individual farmer would be entitled to lease more than 300 ha.

The first detailed PAC discussion document on land reform was completed about two months ago and its release is understood to be imminent. It reasserts the PAC position that the land question lies at the heart of reshaping society.

"The central objective of the national liberation struggle is ...the repossession of the land from the settler-colonialists and its redistribution to its rightful owners, the African people," the preamble to the document says.

In relation to agricultural land the document proposes:

- That all privately held land be expropriated and transferred to the State. No compensation will be paid for the land itself but improvements should be compensated.
- That land be leased back to farmers, with an upper limit of 300 ha per farmer. The leasehold may be willed to the farmers' heirs, but private land transactions will be abolished.
- That land be redistributed "to the African rural population...under clearly enunciated legal terms and conditions". Priority should be given to residents of the homelands, shack-dwellers, subsistence farmers and medium-scale farmers.

In relation to residential land, both in rural and urban areas, the PAC envisages:

- That each family—including single persons—be entitled to own one residential structure "on a site of prescribed size".
- That provision of housing be handled mainly by the State, including local government, but individuals and

companies may become involved in the "service" of providing land and housing, strictly in compliance with legal stipulations.

That property rented for gain be "socialised" and all State land and expropriated private land in urban areas be set aside for housing.

—That land for business use or for professional practices be leased by arrangement with the local authority.

The document proposes that a land claims court be set up to adjudicate claims and counterclaims for land.

It opposes communal tenure and says chiefs would be given the right to allocate individual units in line with the law.

IFP Responds to De Klerk Address to Parliament

MB3001105793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2211 GMT 29 Jan 93

[SAPA PR wire service issued by Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party]

[Text] The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] comments in brief as follows on the address by the state president, Mr. F W de Klerk, at the opening of the fifth session of the ninth Parliament on 29 January. The party's full statement is available on the SAPA PR wire service:

The Inkatha Freedom Party welcomes the government's indication that it recognises that the future constitutional dispensation for South Africa must be based on federal principles and a free market economy.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is insistent that the issue of federalism must be finally resolved by the multiparty planning conference.

The Inkatha Freedom Party regrets that the state president failed to appraise Parliament on the importance of the recent agreement reached by the government and the IFP on the multiparty planning conference which will structure the negotiating process, reassess the need for a transitional constitution and constituent assembly and legitimise the processes of ground-up democracy building, including the constitution of the state of kwa-Zulu-Natal.

The Inkatha Freedom Party highlights the omission of the state president in referring to procedures leading to the final disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; African National Congress [ANC] military wing]

The Inkatha Freedom Party does not believe the government has gone far enough in recognising the need for a full-scale privatisation effort and nor has it made an irretrievable commitment towards social, cultural and economic pluralism, specifically based on the preservation of the integrity of civil society and the recognition of personal and collective autonomies.

The Inkatha Freedom Party rejects the state president's optimistic vision of our future economic situation; his views on addressing the enormous budget deficit are merely speculative; the economy will not improve until the institutional/constitutional crisis is resolved.

The Inkatha Freedom Party notes that the government has not given any indication as to how a future government of South Africa will relate to the economic sector, with the result that uncertainty will prevail in economic planning and foreign investment.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has clearly tabled its recommendations on the limited role of a future government and on the future economic constitution of South Africa in the provisions of the constitution of the state of kwaZulu-Natal, which we wish to see extended to the rest of South Africa.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is convinced that corruption and malpractice within the government will not be finally eradicated until and unless a new relationship between government and civil society is developed through a new constitutional dispensation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party calls for new legal parameters to limit the secret activities of government and to entrench the rights of personal privacy and access to government information.

The Inkatha Freedom Party upholds the rule of law but is not convinced that criminality will be solved by harsh sentences and by eliminating procedural guarantees for those accused. Brutal processes in the enforcement of criminal law will not solve the causes or the phenomena of criminality and major efforts must be made in removing the conditions which allow for the proliferation of crime.

The Inkatha Freedom Party abhors the fact that a sense of impunity is particularly generalised in the field of political criminality and violence. In this respect it is appalled that after more than 250 IFP leaders have been systematically murdered, the government has yet to identify the culprits and bring them to justice.

The Inkatha Freedom Party was shocked that the state president failed to mention the initiative of the president of the IFP, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to put an end to political violence by requesting the president of the ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela, to jointly address public meetings with him in all strife-torn areas.

The Inkatha Freedom Party states its opposition to the adoption of a transitional constitution and the empowerment of an interim government of national unity and a constituent assembly. It believes this process will delay the drafting of the final constitution of South Africa for many years to come.

The Inkatha Freedom Party calls for a final constitutional dispensation by September 1994.

The Inkatha Freedom Party express serious concern about the government's announced initiative to adopt through Parliament a bill of rights and emphasises that South Africa's constitution needs to be written in an inclusive, multiparty, process. A bill of rights is a fundamental part of any constitution and the mechanisms of enforcement cannot be perceived and conceived outside the overall system of checks and balances of a constitution. A constitutional court is critical in this regard. The constitution of the state of kwaZulu-Natal is an advanced model and example of giving powers to individuals as well as social, cultural and political formations to challenge the validity of laws and administrative actions. A bill of rights cannot be written in isolation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will resist any attempt to establish transitional executive councils (TEC) as a power-sharing arrangement. The TEC's should be limited to their original function (as envisaged in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]) to the levelling of the field of political confrontation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party welcomes the initiative by government to protect women and other less privileged segments of the population. The government has, however, not gone far enough and the entire issue will need to be reconsidered within the structures of the new constitutional dispensation. In this respect the constitution of the state of kwaZulu-Natal has far advanced clauses establishing a ministry for women's affairs and extends special protection to women, youth, senior citizens, disabled people and the victims of apartheid.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is concerned about the programme of reform and rationalisation in the field of education announced by the state president. While the IFP welcomes any social reform aimed at dismantling legal and social apartheid, it stresses that all efforts should be conducted with the inputs of all political formations. Final reform and rationalisation will be brought about by a new government empowered under the final constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

Parties React to Proposal for Bill of Rights

MB0602075393 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Feb 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "CP disappointed at exclusion of rights for groups"]

[Excerpt] Cape Town—The Conservative Party [CP] had no objection to a Charter of Fundamental Rights, but rejected the government's proposals because they only provided for individual rights within a unitary state, CP justice spokesman Mr Fanie Jacobs said yesterday.

The CP was disappointed that the government had continued to ignore group rights, such as the right to self-determination of nations, which was recognised in international court cases.

This deficiency in the government's proposed human rights charter would create conflict rather than regulate it.

The government was also naive to believe that it could correct its past political faults with a Charter of Fundamental Rights, or that a future ANC-SACP [African National Congress-South African Communist Party] government would consider itself bound by such a charter.

It was clear the existence and rights of the "Boer people" had been entirely overlooked in the Bill of Rights proposed in Parliament, Boerestaat [Afrikaner Nation State] Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said.

The Bill was full of high-sounding phrases but the important word "volk" (people) had been clearly avoided.

"The Bill will be nothing more than a waste of good paper, seeing that the RSA will this year, with the establishment of an interim government, take the final steps to a backward Third World state."

The NP's [National Party] draft charter on human rights and the plan of action to propagate this was ludicrous, Labour Party national chairman Mr Luwellyn Landers said.

It was the NP itself that needed to be educated in the protection of human rights.

"The abuse of human rights has developed into a culture and tradition within the NP. Its draft charter and action plan has the potential and danger of delegitimising and devaluing the eventual Bill of Rights."

The policy of apartheid had been abandoned, but its legacy would probably remain for years to come.

A Bill of Rights would therefore have to endorse any affirmative action that was needed to address this legacy.

A final Bill of Rights should not just be the result of an academic or political exercise, but also involve the grassroots in a wide-ranging debate. [passage omitted]

Taxi Dispute Resolved; Drivers To Return To Work

MB0602054093 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] The Johannesburg taxi dispute has been resolved. At a meeting between taxi owners and drivers in Johannesburg this afternoon, it was decided that all drivers would return to work with immediate effect. The meeting scheduled for Monday [8 February] between the drivers and the city council regarding the drivers' grievances will still go ahead.

Meanwhile police have launched an investigation into the eight stolen minibus taxis and the 62 which had had their engines tampered with. The taxis were among those

impounded by traffic officials during the week's crisis. The findings will be presented to the attorney general.

The streets of Johannesburg were again quiet today, and no incidents were reported. Soweto and the East Rand were also relatively quiet, and commuters used trains and buses to get to work.

In another development, the Baragwanath Hospital Association has called on its members not to come to work in dangerous situations. Its chairman, Dr. Ron Kemper, said that the taxi crisis had led to staff being subjected to increasing risks to their lives and damage to property.

Government, ANC Negotiating Stands Viewed

MB0602115393 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English 6 Feb 93 p 11

[Report by political editor Shaun Johnson: "The centre is forming...."]

[Text] For once the cliché is accurate: negotiations have reached a critical stage, and what happens in the coming days will determine whether this year's ambitious transition timetable can be adhered to.

In essence, what has happened is that the negotiating teams of the Government and ANC [African National Congress]—convinced for a variety of reasons that the process must move forward quickly—have chiselled away at the barrier between them, exposing the solid and resilient core. They are now chipping at that core.

They have identified the issues that really matter, come up with a broad plan for tackling them, and submitted this to their political principals. If their principals buy into the plan, and if extraneous factors do not intervene, then negotiations will leap on to a new plane. And the transition will proceed at a pace which will take most South Africans by surprise.

What have the negotiators identified? Firstly it needs to be said that theirs is a specific and limited meeting of minds. They have not become political allies—they will compete viciously in elections—but they are as one regarding what is needed to move transition to its essential next step.

The Government remains closer to the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] in terms of policies, but it is closer to the ANC in terms of the process. The closing of the gap must be seen in this context.

Two key issues which need to be resolved between the National Party [NP] Government and the ANC are those of power-sharing and regionalism.

In these two areas lie the seeds of an historic compromise.

POWER-SHARING: The NP is redefining its concept of power-sharing. Whereas it first emerged in the crude

form of an indefinite entrenchment of a multiparty executive structure—symbolised in the “rotating presidency” idea—it is now much more sophisticated and subtle.

NP negotiators have concluded that the original plan was unsaleable (it smacks of a perversion of the democratic will), but more importantly that it is unnecessary and possibly detrimental to their own interests. They are convinced that power-sharing can be achieved by other means.

These “other means” are encapsulated in the phrase “binding constitutional principles”. Simply put, everything now depends, from the NP point of view, on how much specific agreement can be reached before the final constitution.

These unchangeable agreements will tie the hands of the constitution-making body (CMB), which the ANC calls a constituent assembly (CA), and create a condition of de facto power-sharing in various crucial areas.

NP thinking is that the old idea of entrenched power-sharing can no longer fly. Firstly, there are no comparable precedents for it working anywhere in the world. Secondly, if the NP were to become an entrenched junior party in government, this would restrict its potential to act as a vigorous opposition. If the NP did well in the first election, for example, it might want to build up towards challenging the majority party head-on in the second election. It could not do so effectively as a junior—and therefore gagged—member of government. The NP bottom line has thus shifted considerably, as a result of this thinking.

So pre-emptive, binding constitutional principles become all-important. They, after all, will appear in the final constitution.

The battle that still needs to be fought is over how long the list of binding principles will be, and how detailed they will be. The Government wants regionalism (discussed later) spelt out in final detail, and other principles it will insist on include the bill of rights; special majorities for certain decision-making; and multiparty access to the branches of State, including the security forces and civil service.

All of these, in its view, will create checks and balances tantamount to power-sharing.

The Government is pleased that, in the Record of Understanding signed in September last year, the joint statement referred to constitutional principles being agreed upon—not “general constitutional principles”, which would be vague.

The NP's dropping of the notion of a rotating presidency makes a progress with the ANC much more likely—and it is possible that, in return for the assurance that the leader of the majority party will be president in a

transitional parliament, the ANC might agree that he will act only with the approval of the (multi-party) transitional Cabinet.

That Cabinet would be appointed to reflect the electoral performances of the various parties in the first proportional representation polls.

The overall effect is that the Government no longer insists on power-sharing being written overtly into the constitution, and the ANC is prepared for a form of power-sharing by other means. The ANC's internal debate on this notion was resolved when the notion of “sunset clauses”—a particular corollary of power-sharing—was accepted by its leadership last year.

REGIONALISM: Here the Government wants the ANC to temper its suspicions about the pre-emptive drafting of agreements on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions for the new SA.

The ANC position is that it is not against the devolution of power in principle, but that the CMB/CA is the proper forum for settling the detail.

In the Government's view, the key to a breakthrough lies in convincing the ANC that, in seeking detailed agreement on the regions, it is not trying to cling to power via the back door. The Government also believes that some of the ANC's own constituents—including homeland leaders aligned to the ANC—are themselves warming to the idea of regional devolution. This could add further impetus to a possible shift in the ANC approach.

POSSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS: Movement from both sides on the questions of power-sharing and regionalism provide, in outline, the potential for decisive convergence. Of course, there are myriad other elements which need to be addressed if the central compromise is to hold.

Here again, there are areas in which possibilities emerge for compromise, and others which are more intractable.

It seems that the Government will drop its insistence on a two-chamber transitional parliament, and that the ANC will not oppose a bicameral system after the transition. It seems there will be agreement that the transitional parliament will have only a limited life-span, but that it might sit for a full five years before second elections are held, under the final constitution. The local government component would simply be added to the transitional parliament during the five-year period. Similarly, regarding the operation of the proposed transitional executive council (TEC), there appears to be room for compromise. The Government will not allow joint rule without elections, but the TEC will, by agreement, be enabled to exert real influence in an organised structure—it will not be a “toy telephone”.

The Government has accepted that it cannot act unilaterally any more—the appointment of a new SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] board is an

example. Therefore the influence of those who serve on the TEC and its subcommittees will be greater than it appears on paper.

It is also hoped that the installation of the TEC will have a positive psychological effect on the public, being the first instance of real multiparty, nonracial co-operation in the administration of the country. It is, in this sense, an irrevocable step, and the Government even hopes that the ANC might allow it to be used as the "trigger point" for the lifting of remaining sanctions.

So much for the possibilities for a mutually acceptable accommodation between the ANC and Government. The position of the Inkatha Freedom Party remains a problem—and the role of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is particularly difficult.

The Government appears satisfied with the new arms-length relationship it has with the IFP, but is worried about the issue of the king. A compromise proposal is that the governments of the six self-governing states be invited into the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] process (only the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei] states were represented before), and that these delegations could be headed by the various traditional leaders, including the Zulu king. Essentially the proposal is to address the king's position by increasing the role of traditional leaders in general. The ANC, however, is strongly resisting this option, and the disagreement could have the effect of delaying the transition.

Both the Government and ANC recognise the desirability of drawing the IFP back into the process—the Government believes it can be achieved if Ullundini can be convinced it is not going to be "tricked" by the other two—but the mechanisms for achieving this remain unclear.

Finally, the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK—ANC military wing] is a difficult and unresolved problem.

The ANC wants full integration with the SADF [South African Defence Force] while the generals want MK to disband and its members to apply to the SADF individually. A middle road is not yet evident.

Overall, the convergence between South Africa's two central political players is remarkable. But it is also fragile. If the meeting of minds in the new political "centre" is to hold, the potentially disruptive problems must be addressed within the next fortnight. Both sides are trying hard—being careful not to crow over each other's compromises—but there is no guarantee that unforeseen factors will not cause an unravelling. Negotiators are bracing themselves for a rough ride in the coming days—in the hope that if they come through it, the future will be theirs.

ANC Against Government's Unilateral Land Transfers MB0402132193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1059 GMT 4 Feb 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress]

[Text] At a press briefing on 1 February the deputy minister of land affairs, Johan Scheepers, said that the government would not put a moratorium on either the selling of state-owned land or the transfer of land to the homelands. He also said that the government was engaged in bilateral talks with the ANC on land affairs.

The ANC would like to put it on record that we have had one "bilateral" discussion with Scheepers on land matters, at his request. At that meeting he was warned that land transfers to the bantustans would be ill-advised and confrontational. Despite the De Meyer report of massive corruption and maladministration in Lebowa, Scheepers ignored our advice and transferred land to both Lebowa and QwaQwa.

It is not for a minority regime to dispose of land from which the majority were dispossessed. According to Scheepers the government does not believe in redistribution of land.

A number of angry African rural communities have started re-occupying land from which they were forcibly removed. The state department which was responsible for the misery of millions of black South Africans is saying—while the country is praying for a peaceful political settlement—that it will continue to sell off land and transfer land to the bantustans. It is outrageous.

We would like to repeat our warning: The current hasty unilateral state land transactions will not be honoured by a future democratic government.

ANC Facing 'Crisis' Over Candidate Selection MB0702110993 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Feb 93 p 29

[Report by political correspondent David Breier: "Coat-tail politicians a threat to ANC"]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] faces a crisis when it draws up its list of candidates for South Africa's first nonracial election, political observers believe. For both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and SACP [South African Communist Party] secretary-general Chris Hani have said the relationship of the long-standing alliance would be re-examined after the election, expected by next year.

Politicians this week pointed out that it would be an explosive task for the ANC to draw up a list of election candidates including known SACP members, who could split after an election when the alliance was re-examined.

Politicians often cross the floor after elections. But if the likelihood of a split is known in advance, SACP members can hardly expect to be given a free ride into the interim parliament hanging on to the coat-tails of the popular ANC, only to part later.

Mandela said recently the ANC had no ideological links with the SACP and would renegotiate the alliance after the election. Hani was quoted in the London Sunday Times as saying he planned to break with the ANC after the elections, but he later denied the report. However, he did say it was an issue that would have to be addressed after the elections.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer, who has himself had a number of MPs defecting, including five to the ANC and one to the Inkatha Freedom Party, said he could not see how the ANC could draw up a list of candidates including communists for the proportion representation elections if it was known in advance that the alliance with the SACP might change after the election.

Stellenbosch economist and political commentator Sampie Terreblanche said it was easy for Mandela to say the alliance with the SACP would be renegotiated after the election. But this would have an immediate effect before the election as the ANC tried to draw up a list of candidates. "All kinds of unforeseen contradictions are going to develop over how to unscramble the egg of the alliance," he said.

ANC executive member Gill Marcus said she did not see the drawing up of an election list as a problem. "Anyone standing under the ANC banner will be subject to the discipline of the ANC. Anyone unable to accept this cannot stand on the ANC ballot form," she said.

Marcus said all members of the alliance agreed on the main basic platform, although SACP members had a socialist perspective which was not ANC policy.

"Anyone elected under the ANC banner will be subject to ANC discipline irrespective of their different perspective," she said.

Marcus said that the ANC would stand under its own name on ballot forms and not in the name of an alliance.

Nelson Mandela Reviews 1992, Current Peace Prospects
MB0702162893 Johannesburg MAYIBUYE in English
Feb 93 pp 8-11

[Interview with African National Congress President Nelson Mandela by MAYIBUYE's Brian Hoga; place and date not given—"A year of decisive progress"]

[Text] MAYIBUYE: Last year was described by many as a horrible one. Is this your assessment?

Nelson Mandela [NM]: We had a lot of problems throughout last year. The ANC [African National Congress] was compelled to suspend talks with the government because of its intransigence, and the whole negotiations process was slowed down. But I don't share the view that, merely because there were serious problems, and the targets that we had set for ourselves were not reached, 1992 was a year of disaster.

On the contrary, it was a year in which some significant progress was made. That was the year in which we agreed that elections should be held towards the end of 1993. It was the year in which we agreed on the installation of an Interim Government. It was the year in which we agreed on a Record of Understanding. Therefore, in spite of the slow progress we made, I think it was not a year without achievement.

MAYIBUYE: The sense of despondency arises partly from the fact that, since 1990, negotiations have proceeded at a snail's pace. Does the ANC lack the capacity to speed up the process?

NM: It may well be. But some people and organisations were too optimistic about the pace that the talks would take. If you look at the matter from the point of view of the conditions under which these negotiations occurred, I think we have made reasonable progress.

Who would have thought that, as a result of these discussions, the State of Emergency would be lifted, political prisoners released, exiles allowed to return, a climate of free political activity in the greater part of South Africa would prevail, and repressive legislation would either be amended or repealed?

We have signed a Declaration of Intent, which provides a basis for movement towards a united, non-racial, democratic and non-sexist South Africa. These achievements have been made within a period of three years.

Having regard to the history of the country, especially the history of apartheid, we have made very good progress. Therefore, the ANC had and still has the capacity to see to it that the peace process moves forward.

MAYIBUYE: So what are the prospects this year?

NM: I think it is reasonable to accept that almost all political parties have realised the need for a peaceful settlement in the near future, and I think that we are likely to turn 1993 into a year of decisive achievements.

MAYIBUYE: What impact has the ANC's new strategic perspective on negotiations had on the process? What exactly does it entail?

NM: I think it has had a very healthy impact. We must remember that the essence of the Strategic Perspective document is to ensure the transfer of political power from a minority government to the people as a whole. It

is based on the acceptance of the principle of majority rule and the total elimination of all forms of apartheid and minority rule.

At the same time the document takes into account the realities of our situation. We totally reject a forced coalition as the government demands. At the same time we realise the importance of a government of national unity, both during the interim period and when a democratic government has been installed.

We would like to forestall the possibility of a counter-revolutionary onslaught on the democratic government which will be established. We think we have a very good chance of achieving that objective if we are able to form a government of national unity as a result of a decision of any majority party which will emerge after the general election.

So this document, therefore, stands for the principle of majority rule, which is observed in all democratic countries.

The party that emerges strongest in the election, especially if it has the overall majority, should be called upon to form the government. That party is then free to invite other political parties with a significant following to join the government. We therefore think that the democratic government which will be installed in that way will be in a position to have a firm hold on the levers of power.

We also hold the firm view that the army, police and civil service should be restructured to serve the interests of democracy and reflect, in their composition, South African society as a whole.

But we are also saying that individuals currently serving in these machineries will not simply be thrown out into the streets. Some retrenchment packages might have to be considered.

All these proposals of the ANC should help allay fears of some sections among whites. The proposals can contribute to breaking their resistance to the transition.

But the essence of our approach remains the achievement of democratic majority rule.

MAYIBUYE: Concretely, what specific steps do you envisage in negotiations and the transition this year?

NM: We envisage the installation of a transitional executive council, and elections for a Constituent Assembly (CA) towards the end of the year. The CA will then draw up a new constitution for the country. That might take some time and might go beyond 1993.

MAYIBUYE: Other organisations are calling for the re-opening of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] decisions and the setting up of a new forum altogether. Is this not reasonable, in view of the fact that Codesa II failed, and new forces might be coming in?

NM: No, that we totally reject. It has taken a long time to establish Codesa. For us now to try and set up another multi-party forum may take as long, and we are not prepared for that. Codesa is an effective organisation for any future multi-party talks. All that is necessary is that parties which want to make a contribution to the process can come and join. We will listen to any suggestions they make which can improve the effectiveness of the existing Codesa. But we are not prepared to waste time by setting up a new forum.

MAYIBUYE: Do the ANC, the regime, and any other parties see eye to eye on this issue?

NM: The ANC and its allies, as well as the government, do. In the last December three-day bilateral between the government and the ANC, we agreed that the forum for multi-party talks is the existing Codesa. It might be restructured though, in the sense that parties which are not members will be allowed to come in and to canvass their point of view. We have agreed that Codesa will be the forum for multi-party discussions.

MAYIBUYE: If this issue and, perhaps, others lead to a deadlock, will those who agree proceed?

NM: We don't think that any political party will be justified in refusing to join Codesa, and we will try and avoid that. But if, in spite of all our efforts, we are unable to persuade other political parties to join Codesa, we will have no alternative but to proceed without them.

MAYIBUYE: But won't those spurned unleash violence and derail the whole process?

NM: We hope not. We hope all political parties will use non-violent means of expressing their point of view. We will find the resort to violence unacceptable, and it will be the duty of the democratic government to address that question.

MAYIBUYE: What is your assessment of the armed attacks against Whites in the E [East] Cape and OFS [Orange Free State]?

NM: It is difficult to know who exactly is responsible for these attacks. I had occasion to talk to a high-ranking government official, dealing with the allegation that a particular black political organisation is responsible for these attacks. I asked whether they had evidence to this effect, and he said they had none.

There are views that there are other sinister forces behind these attacks, which want to achieve exactly the aim of justifying destabilisation in certain regions, targeting ANC and MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] members for elimination and derailing negotiations. We will have to wait for further evidence to decide exactly who is behind these attacks. But whoever is behind them, their effect is to destabilise the negotiations process.

MAYIBUYE: Is there any hope of eliminating violence?

NM: The National Peace Committee is addressing this question. We are hoping that the installation of an interim government of national unity, which will then control the security forces, will have a better chance of addressing the question of violence. It is quite clear that the present government alone is unable to address this issue. Let us hope that an interim government will have the resources and capacity to put an end to the violence.

MAYIBUYE: And elections: is the ANC prepared, given the overwhelming experience and resources of the NP and other parties?

NM: We can perhaps deal with this question by referring to opinion polls. They have been consistent in the view that, if an election were held today, the ANC would have an outright victory over all parties put together.

But we, as the ANC, would be committing a serious mistake if we rested on our laurels because this is the trend of the opinion polls.

We have to go out to the country areas and see to it that the massive support, which we undoubtedly enjoy, is turned into organized and disciplined membership. That is the task facing us. I think we are tackling it and are in a position to achieve that objective.

MAYIBUYE: What alliances does the ANC envisage, and will those who have all along worked within the system not undermine the ANC's thrust?

NM: We have the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party]/Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] tripartite alliance. That is a very powerful alliance and we think it is capable of winning an election. But we have a broader alliance between the tripartite and the Patriotic Front (PF) inside Codesa. It is our view that we can build a solid alliance, not only within the tripartite, but with the PF as well.

Whether these parties in the PF will be able to go along with us the full hog will have to be seen. But up to now the PF inside Codesa is working very well, raising the hope that we will be able to come even closer in the future.

State of Emergency Lifted in 2 Natal Districts

MB0502140593 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] The minister of law and order, Mr. Hernus Kriel, has lifted unrest regulations in the Richmond and Umbumbulu Districts in Natal with immediate effect. The two adjoining areas were declared unrest areas last year after a sharp increase in political violence. Restrictions affecting the Mooi River and Estcourt areas remain in force.

Kriel: Democracy Impossible in Violent Climate

MB0202172693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1505 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] Parliament Feb 2 SAPA—Elections could not be held in a situation in which political leaders were being murdered, "no-go" areas established, and intimidation was the order of the day, the minister of law and order, Mr. Hernus Kriel, said on Tuesday [2 January]. Speaking during debate on the state president's opening address to Parliament, he said no extension of democracy could be planned or kept safe in the present climate of violence.

"Now is the time for a joint effort by all leaders to dramatically reduce the level of violence to ensure legitimate elections and a stable new government." Not only the government, but also all political organisations had a duty to work toward solving the problem of violence.

Mr Kriel said political leaders had to control their followers and guard against inflammatory speeches. They also had to act against supporters who took part in, or instigated, violence. "They must be treated as thugs, not heroes."

The National Peace Accord had to be strengthened and stronger action against illegal weapons was required.

It was essential for the African National Congress [ANC] and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] to talk directly to each other. Many people were dying because of posturing by the ANC and IFP. "The government can no longer act as their messenger or as a peacemaker."

Greater co-operation had to be established between the police and all political parties. Attempts to discredit and weaken the SAP [South African Police] undermined stability.

Political groups on the left and right who "kept the back door open" by retaining private armies had to have this option closed to them. Mr Kriel said violence had a definite influence on the negotiation process. It led to delays in the negotiation process and a lack of desired progress.

The murder of political leaders and followers led to mistrust, hate and intractability at the negotiation table. Police statistics for the last three months of last year indicated that a total of 164 IFP followers and 81 ANC supporters had died in Natal during that period. A further 235 persons whose political affiliation was unknown, had also perished in that time.

Mr Kriel said the cost of combating and controlling violence was estimated at R[and]1.6 billion during the current financial year. "With that amount of money, we could have built some 42,000 houses and housed some 210,000 people. Eight hundred primary schools could have been built."

Violence also led to a loss of confidence in the negotiation process and a fear of a new constitution. This in turn led to unrealistic demands for partition and a return to

apartheid and opposition to the reincorporation of the homelands. However, the course of the negotiation process also influenced violence in South Africa, Mr Kriel said.

The state president's speech on February 2, 1990 had created unfulfilled expectations, which led to frustration and violence. The credibility of the negotiation process was undermined by political posturing and quibbling over minor details. Mass action was used to blackmail and intimidate other parties to change their policies, but only served as a trigger factor for further political violence.

During the July 2, 1992 stayaway, police recorded 293 political incidents. During the week of rolling mass action from August 3 to 5, there were 600 incidents of political violence, in which 61 people were killed. "All of this was done in the name of democracy to achieve political results."

Mr Kriel said people who perceived the negotiation process as a threat established para-military structures such as the Wenkommandos [Victory Commandos], Ystergarde [Iron Guard] and Wit Wolwe [White Wolf]. This led to right-wing terrorism and theft of weapons and a resulting resurgence in left-wing terrorism, notably from the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA). Referring to APLA's assertion that it "cannot bury the bullet until we have the ballot", Mr Kriel said: "They must know that they cannot have the ballot until they have buried the bullet."

New Legislation Would Ban Armed Political Meetings

MB0302072093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 3 Feb 93

[Text] Legislation is being prepared to ban meetings and gatherings of armed groups including the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement].

The deputy minister of law and order, Mr. Gert Myburgh, announced in Parliament that a proclamation was being drawn up barring members of political organizations from appearing in public heavily armed and would be published shortly.

Speaking during the debate on the state president's opening address, Mr. Myburgh said heavily armed AWB members who attended public meetings had an intimidating effect on the general public. He said organizations that subscribed to the National Peace Accord, and whose members were guilty of misconduct, were causing concern. Mr. Myburgh said signatories to the accord who contravened its principles should also be punished.

Deputy Minister on Giving 'Teeth' to Peace Accord

MB0202175093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1717 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] Parliament February 2 SAPA—The National Peace Accord could be given teeth by granting its adjudicating bodies the power to fine transgressors and even

ban political parties, the deputy minister of law and order, Mr Gert Myburgh, said on Tuesday [2 February]. Speaking in debate on the state president's opening address, he said signatories to the accord had agreed that no party, office bearer or representative would make it or himself guilty of political violence and that they would refrain from encouraging violence or hate.

"The problem that is however found in practice is that offenders who propagate violence do not accept the decision of the adjudicators. The offenders are not even repudiated. A mechanism will have to be negotiated and accepted by all the parties and organisations to ensure that action will be taken against offenders if the accord is expected to make a constructive contribution to lowering the occurrence of violence resulting from talk of violence." The fines levied in this way could be best used to further political tolerance among citizens of the country.

Mr Myburgh said it was also important that people who broke the accord be brought to book informally as soon as possible, so that the public could see that action was taken. A party's public repudiation of propagation of violence by its members could lead to a reduction in fines that had been imposed.

Consideration could also be given to banning the publication of pronouncements of such an offender or of his party. Receipt of foreign funding could be forbidden, and on repetition of an offence a party's registration could possibly be cancelled or the party or organisation banned.

"All these serious sanctions could only be applied if a party continued propagating violence and deliberately involved itself in political intolerance."

Andries Beyers on White Self-Determination

MB0202061993 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Interview with Afrikaner National Union leader Andries Beyers by South African Broadcasting Corporation presenter Freek Robinson in the SABC parliamentary studio in Cape Town, on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Robinson] The state president has delivered his address. It is being termed the final blow for the old dispensation, as well as a blow to even the possibility of establishing an Afrikaner homeland. Your reaction?

[Beyers] Our reaction in short comes down to the following: To achieve our ideals, namely, reasonable self-determination for our people in a partitioned state, to achieve this means that the removal of the old order is necessary. We are in favor of the removal of the old order and the establishment of a new dispensation. We want to influence the process and the creation of a new dispensation, to the extent that reasonable self-determination is ultimately created in a partitioned state. We think this is possible.

[Robinson] Including the abolition of Own Affairs?

[Beyers] Definitely. We are not married to the present Constitution. In the 1983 referendum we were opposed to the present Constitution. We say that Own Affairs administration was not effective enough and that a new dispensation must be created in terms so that the right to meaningful self-determination must be recognized.

[Robinson] You have used two words: reasonable self-determination and meaningful self-determination. What does this mean?

[Beyers] This means that this self-determination we are demanding on behalf of our people must be devised in such a way that it is not to the disadvantage of other people. In our talks we have determined that this is the only way we can negotiate this for our people, to achieve this on behalf of our people. We realize that we have to negotiate a new dispensation for our people and we say that self-determination for our people, in a partitioned state, is the solution. We think it is possible.

[Robinson] On behalf of our viewers can I just clarify the following: You differ from Dr. Treurnicht, who has just stated very clearly that he only believes in a confederal state, in other words, a totally independent state for Afrikaners outside this traditional South Africa, but you differ from this.

[Beyers] We are concerned about the rights that will be given to our state.

[Robinson] Within a new South Africa?

[Beyers] Within a new dispensation. We are concerned about this. We are not concerned about what the dispensation should be called, whether it is federal or confederal. We are aiming at the maximum right to self-determination for our people in one of the partitioned states where our people will form the majority. If they form the majority, then they can take over political control of that state and that is the only basis upon which that meaningful self-determination can be created.

[Robinson] But let us just try to gain clarity on issues decided upon by Cosag [Concerned South Africans Group], because it seems that there are differences in respect to views held by certain black parties within that group and the interpretation by Dr. Treurnicht, following that meeting. For example, would the blacks go along with this idea of independent states, or not?

[Beyers] Well, certain members of Cosag such as Bophuthatswana

[Robinson, interrupting] The only one?

[Beyers] The only one...[continuing] is in favor of an independent state. Dr. Buthelezi and Inkatha are in favor of a federal dispensation, although in the partitioned state they are trying to negotiate for their people they are claiming certain powers and this is a confederal tendency. We say this should be the product of negotiation between all the concerned parties in South Africa. I believe that it is possible for compromise to be reached between all groups on federal principles and we want to throw our weight behind this to realize this ideal, also for our people.

[Robinson] You say you want to throw your weight behind this. Let us just clarify this statement. Do you have any preconditions for negotiation, such as Dr. Treurnicht seems to have?

[Beyers] No, we say that negotiations are important, negotiation with all the roleplayers, including the ANC [African National Congress]. This is important in order to reach a solution, so that at least all the important roleplayers are eventually pleased with that agreement, otherwise there will be no solution. We are interested in participating in problem-solving sessions and we do not want to act in a confrontational manner. We want to participate in reaching a solution for our people as well and we think this is really possible in the new dispensation.

[Robinson] When you say you think this is really possible, do you have the support of other black groups, also outside the Cosag group, with whom you have already spoken?

[Beyers] We have made amazing progress since our establishment, and by this I mean that our reasonable aspirations, namely, reasonable self-determination for our people in a regional context, that concept is gaining acceptance by people to whom we are selling it.

[Robinson] Outside that group?

[Beyers] Also outside the Cosag group. There is a special understanding, a fresh understanding, for the new vision which the Afrikaner National Union advocates. Up to now the problem was this, namely that people believed that if one favored a nation state or self-determination, this meant a continuation of apartheid in some part of South Africa. That is probably the historical mistake we've been making. It is now necessary to make it quite clear that in any future dispensation in South Africa, whether it be in a partitioned state or a federal solution, there will be no place for statutory racial discrimination. When we sell that concept to black role players in the country, they listen to us with total interest. We are encouraged by the fact that an understanding is developing within the ranks of black role players, including the ANC, for that which we are striving for.

[Robinson] Let us clarify two points. Who will be members of that state? Other people will be living there as well, wherever you have your Afrikaner state borders, other people will be living there, so, who will be allowed within those borders?

[Beyers] All people living within that region will be allowed to continue living there, and they will also enjoy the same political rights. It is unavoidable, that is why it is so important....

[Robinson, interrupting] Full political rights?

[Beyers] Yes, full political rights.

[Robinson] Even blacks?

[Beyers] Even blacks.

[Robinson] Voting for the same parliament?

[Beyers] Yes, voting for the same parliament.

[Robinson] Regional parliament?

[Beyers] Of course. Any person promising a nation state in which there will not be any form of racial discrimination is misleading the people. It simply will not work. With regard to this problem we are under pressure to reach a compromise. We want the majority of our people in a partitioned state, in order for them to have control of that state. That is the only possible solution for our people with regard to self-determination.

[Robinson] Those you want to include, not those already living within your state borders, but those you want to include. Who are they. Afrikaners?

[Beyers] As a matter of fact, primarily Afrikaners. We have two points concerning regions. First, we want to form borders around Pretoria because, at this stage, the majority of our people are already living there. Such plans could be made, but I do not want to go into detail on this tonight. Second, there are areas in parts of the Cape Province where the majority of the inhabitants are Afrikaans-speaking people, namely, coloreds and white Afrikaners. We say that those regions should be formed into a separate partitioned state, and that the Afrikaners and coloreds—Afrikaans-speaking coloreds—should come to an agreement on the political future of that region.

[Robinson] To be part of that region?

[Beyers] Yes.

[Robinson] In other words, including the coloreds?

[Beyers] Including the coloreds.

[Robinson] No racial discrimination?

[Beyers] Not at all, in fact we have left behind racial discrimination. Mr. Robinson, it is simply the truth. People should now realize that no one in this world will approve a racial dispensation in our country or allow it. So we must accept that reality. Being realistic does not mean that there cannot be any self-determination for our people. That reality makes it possible to negotiate a compromise. We, on our side, accept the fact that there will be no more racial discrimination, so, let us create a partitioned dispensation for the Afrikaner, a political power base for the Afrikaner, that will be the solution.

[Robinson] Mr. Beyers, thank you for your participation tonight.

[Beyers] Thank you.

CP Spokesman: Peace Requires Banning MK, APLA

MB2901195693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1745 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Cape Town January 29 SAPA—Peace would not be restored to South Africa unless the government acted against the terrorist movements of MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—ANC Military Wing] and APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] by banning them, confiscating their weapons and neutralising their bases in neighbouring territories, CP [Conservative Party] spokesman Mr Charl Hertzog, said on Friday [29 January].

"Mr de Klerk did not address the nucleus of the violence problem," he said in a statement reacting to the state president's opening of Parliament speech.

"It is clear that the state president's words and deeds do not coincide, and it remains our responsibility to ensure self-defence in our constituencies.

"I call on all who have not yet joined our homewatch system to mobilise immediately."

Official Urges Action To Prevent Attacks on Whites

MB0502162693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1515 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Cape Town Feb 5 SAPA—All parties and organisations who were concerned with the welfare of whites in the Orange Free State [OFS] should co-ordinate and act to prevent more whites being murdered, the chairman of the Conservative Party in the OFS, Mr Braam Oosthuizen, said on Friday [5 February]. Condemning the murder of two elderly women on a farm outside Brandfort on Thursday morning, he said in a statement whites were increasingly becoming the targets of black tyrants who had no respect for human life or law and order.

The increase in atrocities of this kind was the direct consequence of regular reductions in prison terms, amnesty, and indemnity granted by the government. The release of terrorists was an invitation to further terror attacks. Penalties no longer acted as a deterrent.

"The government is not succeeding in its primary duty to provide a safe environment for South Africans," Mr Oosthuizen said.

Documents Outline Aborted SADF Raid on APLA Bases

MB0502144593 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Report by Jacques Pauw: "SADF Raid on APLA Bases Aborted"]

[Text] The SADF [South African Defense Force] was ready to strike at APLA [Azanian Peoples Liberation Army] bases in Transkei five months before the organisation's bloody campaign in the eastern Cape in late November and early December last year—until its political masters kiboshed the idea.

A group of Military Intelligence (MI) operatives, all members of the intended raiding party, told THE STAR this week that the operation was planned after evidence showed that Azanian People's Liberation Army attacks on "soft" white targets were imminent.

One of the raiders would have been former Civil Cooperation Bureau operative Ferdi Barnard who, according to documents in THE STAR's possession, was still employed by MI long after his "official sacking" in December 1991.

The raid would have taken place last July, five months before APLA cadres attacked "soft" white targets in the eastern Cape. According to the MI operatives, they were briefed about the attack, told to "grow beards" to hide their identities, and possible targets were discussed.

They claimed they were to be joined by a special SAP [South African Police] task force from the Crime Information Service.

SADF spokesman Major Charl de Klerk said yesterday that the activities of APLA and MI were at present being investigated by the Goldstone Commission and were, therefore, regarded as sub judice.

"For that reason the SADF refrains from comment," he said.

An SAP spokesman said yesterday the police at no stage planned to raid any APLA bases in Transkei. He said the Police Act did not make provision for crossborder raids.

The group of MI operatives said the raid was cancelled because it became politically "too sensitive". The group is "bitter" because the attacks on "soft" targets could have been prevented.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel threatened Transkei in December that the security forces may in future undertake incursions into Transkei to take out APLA bases.

Government spokesman Dave Steward has also said that South African security forces would raid Transkei if intelligence proved the existence of APLA bases in the homeland.

It has also emerged from a secret police "information note" that the SAP had obtained detailed information from two captured APLA guerrillas more than a year before the eastern Cape attacks. It pointed to training facilities in Transkei, APLA safe-houses, the military structure of the organisation and names of trained APLA cadres.

The SAP spokesman yesterday confirmed that two APLA members were arrested in June 1991 and provided the police with "unconfirmed information" about APLA structures, activities and facilities in Transkei.

This information, along with intelligence gathered by two MI teams, would have been used to hit targets in Transkei, the MI operatives claimed this week.

At least two Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) intelligence teams were instructed at the beginning of last year to concentrate on APLA activities in Transkei. The two teams were headed by Geoffrey Price and Anton Nieuwoudt, and included Barnard, Rich Verster and Henry van der Westhuizen. Colonel At Nel was, according to THE STAR's information, in charge of the operation. All these operatives, with the exception of Barnard, were fired by President de Klerk as part of his recent purge of the security forces.

Barnard was, according to a report by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and subsequent statements by the SADF fired in December 1991. According to files obtained by the commission during its raid on DCC headquarters in Pretoria during November last year, Barnard was paid three months's salary in 1991 and told to leave.

The DCC, however, continued to employ Barnard. He operated under the pseudonym "Tony" and concentrated on gathering information about APLA activities in Transkei.

In the first half of 1992, he provided his handlers, Price and Verster, with several intelligence reports about APLA activities in Transkei.

He had a PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] source named "Mr B" in Umtata.

Barnard, confronted with MI documentation, confirmed this week that he was a member of the SADF intended raiding party and was, at least until July last year, still working for the DCC—more than six months after the SADF claimed he had been fired.

He would not say until when he was employed by MI.

According to the group of MI operatives all information about APLA was referred to a central information desk where it was evaluated as "critical".

Soon afterwards, a team was compiled to hit APLA bases and cadres in Transkei. The men said they would have been equipped with special weapons.

Barnard said: "All the information gathered by the SAP and MI's intelligence teams were evaluated and in July last year we received an order to prepare ourselves for crossborder raids into Transkei. We were briefed on possible targets."

He also claimed an SAP team would have taken part in the attacks against the APLA bases.

The police squad, THE STAR was informed by the MI operatives, would have been commanded by former Vlakplaas commander Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene de Kock.

Barnard said they were told the operation had been cancelled because of the "political implications".

Verster this week refused to comment on the planned raid. He said he was still bound by the Official Secrets Act.

According to the secret police "information note", dated August 29 1991, the PAC had a Regional Political-Military Council in Transkei commanded by Vumankosi Ntinkana, alias Vuma, alias Sizwe, who is wanted by the SAP so that he can furnish information concerning acts of terrorism.

Bulelani Xuma, alias Sipho, was identified as chief of logistics; Themba Kenene, alias Joe, as chief of security; and Madodana Fihla, alias Styles, as commander of training and operations. The country, according to the police note, was divided into four military zones by APLA.

At that stage (August 1991), the document said, there were 26 trained APLA members in Transkei. Six places were mentioned where "instantaneous military training" had been given.

According to the document, APLA members were instructed to, among other things, provide fellow members with military training, attack white SAP and SADF members, commit robberies to fund projects and attack white farmers.

Most of the SAP information was confirmed by Barnard's source, whom he described in his reports as an "influential drug smuggler" who moved around in top PAC circles where he regularly mixed with PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

"A lot of armed activity against the security forces and police is being planned from within Transkei and the situation would become progressively worse," Barnard said in one of his reports.

SADF Chief Unaware of Intelligence Directorate Existence

MB0202140993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1316 GMT 2 Feb 93

[Text] Cape Town Feb 2 SAPA—The chief of the South African Defence Force [SADF], General Kat Liebenberg,

did not know the cover name of the Directorate of Covert Intelligence [DCI] operation raided by Goldstone Commission officials late last year, he said on Tuesday [2 February].

Gen Liebenberg told journalists during a media briefing that he had been approached by Goldstone Commission officials before the raid and asked whether the Pretoria-based company was a military intelligence operation.

"I did not know the existence or the name of the firm in Pretoria. It was not necessary for me to know. This was simply an administrative cover-name."

Gen Liebenberg said he had been "surprised and disappointed" at allegations that the DCI operation had been engaged in attempts to discredit and compromise senior ANC [African National Congress] leaders.

There had been prima facie evidence of transgressions by seven individuals working within the DCI.

"These individuals misused their freedom of movement as members of DCI to engage in alleged criminal activities."

A board of inquiry was investigating the allegations and the SADF was co-operating with the Goldstone Commission, police and the attorney-general's office over this matter.

Asked whether the chief of military intelligence, Maj-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen, should not have been aware of the activities of the DCI operation, he said responsibility for the operation had been delegated to the deputy chief of staff (intelligence), Maj-Gen Chris Thirion, and the director of the DCI, Brig Tolletjie Botha.

Although Gen Liebenberg was aware of the operation and its proper mandate, neither he nor Gen van der Westhuizen had been aware of any illegal activity.

Both Gen Thirion and Brig Botha were among the senior officers prematurely retired by State President Mr F. W. de Klerk on December 19 following an interim report by Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, who is investigating MI [military intelligence] covert operations.

Gen Liebenberg said he had been aware of the state president's announcement because he and defence minister Mr Gene Louw had been called in and informed by Mr de Klerk beforehand.

Earlier, Mr Louw said Mr de Klerk would discuss Gen Steyn's investigation when he replied on Thursday to his opening address debate.

"I don't think it will be very colleague-like if I try and steal the state president's thunder by discussing this issue."

Five Solidarity Members Resign From Party, Join NP

*MB0302172493 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1500 GMT 3 Feb 93*

[Text] All five members of the Solidarity Party in the President's Council have announced that they have joined the National Party [NP]. They are Mr. K. Ramduth, Mr. A. K. Pillay, Mr. C. N. Moodliar, Mr. A. K. Noor Mohamed, and Mr. A. G. Ebrahim. The NP already has a majority in the House of Delegates.

MP Tarr Resigns From DP To Join Inkatha

*MB0202154093 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1300
GMT 2 Feb 93*

[Text] The Democratic Party [DP] MP for Pietermaritzburg North has resigned from the party to join Inkatha. Mike Tarr told Capital News his reasons for the move:

[Begin Tarr recording] I've got a number of reasons. The first is, you know, Inkatha's detailed constitutional position and policy, with which I fully associate. In fact, it doesn't differ vastly from the PFP [former Progressive Federal Party], I mean, the DP position. I am strongly committed to a federal system, and I'd like to work for that, and I think the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] is the best vehicle to do this. I've also in the past been fully in favor of the clear line that the IFP had, you know, Dr. Buthelezi has taken on issues such as, you know, the armed struggle, boycotts, work stayaways, closure of schools, and many other things. [end recording]

Balance of Payments Situation Said Deteriorating

*MB0202174893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1644
GMT 2 Feb 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Feb 2 SAPA—South Africa's deteriorating balance of payments position needs foreign financing aid, according to Sanlam's economic research department. In the latest edition of the financial institution's Economic Survey, Sanlam says the net outflow of short-term and long-term capital continued into the fourth quarter of last year. This was due to the ongoing repayment of debt inside and outside, the debt standstill net, and the sharp appreciation of the US dollar which led to the outflow of mainly short-term capital via forward cover.

Other private sector economists have estimated that large net capital outflows of possibly over R[and]1-billion occurred in the last two months of 1992. Reserve Bank figures show that its holdings in gold and foreign reserves fell by almost R2-billion in November and December, indicating huge outflows, economists say.

Sanlam believes there is "sharp downward pressure on foreign exchange reserves". "The balance of payments (BOP) position now appears to be less favourable than

was thought until recently," it says, despite the improved performance of the foreign trade account.

Sanlam estimates the current account of the BOP yielded a surplus of about R600-million during the December quarter after taking into account the net payment of about R1-billion a month for foreign services and transfers. The financial institution calculates the total surplus on the current account for the year was about R4.3-billion compared to R7.4-billion previously.

Sanlam warns the battered BOP position makes it "important that significant progress be made with the process of political reform so that foreign financing assistance can be obtained.

"Otherwise the balance of payments could be a serious inhibiting factor in the process of economic recovery."

5 February Review of Current Events, Issues

MB0502130093

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Taxi Drivers Hold City for Ransom—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 3 February in its page 6 editorial supports the government's decision to declare Johannesburg an unrest area since "what we have seen is not an orderly protest by mini-bus taxi drivers against so-called 'harassment' by traffic officers, but an attempt to get their way by creating city centre anarchy.... The city was being held to ransom by people whose sole function—and a profitable one—is to serve the public."

THE STAR

Government of National Unity Best Option—"Consensus seems to be developing between the National Party [NP] (which earlier sought entrenched power-sharing) and the ANC [African National Congress] (which opposed any form of it) on the need for a government of national unity," notes a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 5 February. "Other players see this as a ganging up that could lead to their exclusion." Setting up a government of national unity, the paper argues, "is not a panacea, but it seems the best option, at least initially. What is now necessary is for the Government and ANC to carry other parties with them. But power-sharing dare not become an imposed fait accompli. This is yet another reason why multiparty negotiations must soon resume."

BUSINESS DAY

December Headline Inflation Rate 'Too Seductive' Indicator—"Analysts are beginning to suspect that South Africa's 9.6 percent headline inflation rate for December is, like headline inflation in other countries, a little too seductive as an overall inflation indicator," says a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 5 February. "An underlying rate for local

inflation that, as Britain's does, strips out the volatile housing component, apparently adds more than four percentage points to South Africa's headline rate. Another inflation measure increasingly heeded abroad alongside headline and underlying changes in the CPI [consumer price index] is the rate of change in pay and earnings. Pay levels reflect more closely the trend in inflationary expectations which, in this country, have been notoriously slow to adjust to new circumstances."

SOWETAN

National Party-ANC Talks Create 'Panic'—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 5 February in a page 8 editorial argues that "while the continuing talks between the ANC and the National Party are interesting and sometimes intriguing, they create uncertainty and panic." The Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP, "rightly or wrongly, believes a deal from which they have been deliberately excluded is being made....The facts are that the ANC has been proved by most polls to be the organisation with the biggest support nationally while the National Party is the party that is still governing the country. The Government must be serious though in getting all the parties to the talks. That is the most democratic thing to do and the safest."

NEW NATION

Protests Tip of Iceberg—The protests by Johannesburg taxi drivers "is a new kind of protest and it is the type that is likely to face any future transitional authority, interim government, or indeed the first democratically elected government," notes a page 16 editorial in Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 5-11 February. "These are going to be protests that are not informed by political affiliation or programme, but ones which are driven by the pressing social conditions of the people." This type of protest is likely to be on the increase "because of the real economic pressures that are being felt, but secondly and even more importantly, because ordinary people are beginning to feel that they do have real power to make their voices heard....What we saw this week is only the tip of the iceberg of what we are likely to see in future."

CAPE TIMES

De Klerk Steadies His Ranks—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 1 February in a page 10 editorial believes President de Klerk's parliamentary opening speech "confirmed that negotiations are back on track and that a transitional executive council could be in place by June, paving the way for a general election and a power-sharing government of national unity....Mr de Klerk's address, we may hope, will steady his own ranks and the nation at large. There is now greater realism and readiness to compromise in the main political groups, at the leadership level. And most people can see that the choice is between negotiation and relapse into an armed and bloody struggle. The need is to draw in the smaller groups on the left and right as wholehearted partners in multiparty talks and to push ahead to the establishment

of an interim government. Mr de Klerk has worked a political miracle in bringing South Africa to the threshold of a political settlement. From now on he will need all the help he can get."

Malan Retirement Overdue—The retirement of General Magnus Malan from the Cabinet "comes three years later than it should have happened if the tradition of ministerial accountability had survived under NP [National Party] rule," declares a page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 2 February. "The departure of General Malan belatedly signals the end of the era of 'total onslaught' in which an arrogant military bureaucracy involved South Africa in two civil wars on foreign soil at enormous expense, without the knowledge of the taxpayers who were funding these adventures."

De Klerk's Optimistic Talk 'Grave Risk'—On the same page, Sampie Terreblanche, a lecturer of economics at Stellenbosch University, writes that at the opening of Parliament President de Klerk attempted to "create an optimistic scenario for the possibilities of an early economic revival and of important constitutional breakthroughs." Nevertheless, he notes, de Klerk "runs a grave risk by employing this kind of optimistic talk....His pronouncements on economic and constitutional matters were rather vague, leaving the impression of a ploy to buy time by boosting the morale of the public to conceal the government's failure to do something constructive about the deteriorating economic and political situations. The mood in the country is clearly too pessimistic and too distrustful regarding politicians to be placated by good-sounding predictions and promises for which no concrete evidence can be supplied."

BEELD

ANC Need To Break With SACP—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans for 2 February says in a page 8 editorial that statements by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and South African Communist Party, SACP, Secretary General Chris Hani "indicate more and more that the two groups are in certain aspects growing weary of one another. Until now the ANC has felt it could not leave the SACP because the latter has helped it against the 'regime' for years. The SACP, on the other hand, parasitically made sure that it established influence within the ANC to avoid being kicked out. Even now one never knows which is the dog and which the tail within the ANC." However, the paper goes on to state, now there are people who "refuse to touch the SACP and its godless internationally failed policies, and as a result of the present political situation within the ANC, therefore also do not want to touch the ANC. Among them in particular are a large numbers of colored people. With the first real democratic election virtually upon us, this can create serious problems for the ANC."

Proposed Rights Bill 'Important Milestone'—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 3 February in a page 8 editorial says the government's proposed bill of

rights "is an important milestone on the path of negotiation for a more democratic dispensation." It is a "practical exposition of the government's break with the old politics in which the state had almost absolute power over its citizens—and, unfortunately, often misused it."

7 February Review of Current Events, Issues
MB0702105393

[Editorial Report]

BEELD

Taxi Drivers Not Above the Law—The Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans of 4 February notes in a page 8 editorial that "the disruption of the Johannesburg city center by dissatisfied taxi drivers can benefit no one—neither the taxi industry, nor the political organizations which support their action, nor the general public. The taxi drivers probably have valid grievances, although some of their demands sound rather excessive. It is even an open question whether their main problem actually lies with the traffic authorities, as they claim....Taxi drivers with their aggressive driving have already become a hazard for other road users, as well as a source of irritation. Their illegal disruption of the city center by blocking the roads with their taxis can only aggravate feelings against them. Political organizations like the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, who are now supporting this illegal action, must bear in mind that they are nurturing a little crocodile

with which they will be stuck if they become part of a transitional or actual government. The immediate victims of the taxi drivers' actions are the ordinary people of Soweto and other residential areas who depend on these taxis for their daily transport to work. If the taxi drivers have valid grievances, these must be attended to. But just like any other citizen or road user, they are not above the law or the rules of the road."

Parole System Needs Testing—A second editorial on the same page of the 4 February BEELD points out that "the release of prisoners and the manner in which this has sometimes been done has damaged the confidence in the country's administration of justice and penal system. Even Mrs. Angela King, head of the UN observer mission, raised eyebrows over the recent announcement that another 7,500 prisoners are to receive remission on their sentences. Against this background, efforts to correct mistakes are to be welcomed, especially the announcement that no criminal will in future be granted unconditional remission. We will have to wait and see how effectively the parole system—and corrective monitoring of criminals released into society—will be applied. The serious crime situation, the public's concern, and the view that early release is a violation of the law, leaves little room for unsuccessful experiments. We appreciate the problems of overfull prisons. It is also praiseworthy to treat prisoners as fairly as possible. Indeed, the level of a people's civilization is measured, among others, by their treatment of their criminals. On the other hand, people must always be reminded that crime never pays."

Angola

UNITA on Federation, Foreigners' Release, Peace Talks

MB0602094993 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] We would like to call your special attention to the following press release issued by the Office of the President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] and supreme commander of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA]:

1. In due course, I will issue a statement to the Angolan people and international public opinion regarding my views on the crisis that is devastating Angola, our beloved fatherland.

2. Until such time, it is urgent to firmly stress the following without wavering [words indistinct]:

A. The declaration made by UNITA Information Secretary Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim, suggesting a federal constitution for Angola, is his own opinion, as he himself stressed. Such a suggestion cannot be attributed to the UNITA leadership, and at this critical moment in Angola's history that is not on our minds.

B. The foreigners captured in the oil city of Soyo will be freed at an airport in northern Angola on Sunday, 7 February 1993. The operation will be coordinated by General Antonio Sebastiao Bembo and Ambassador Sakala, UNITA's representative in Brussels, who is in touch with the Petrofina oil company. The regime's aircraft should not interfere.

C. The UNITA delegation to the Addis Ababa negotiations has not yet arrived in Huambo to report to its colleagues at home. In view of that, it is not possible to organize another round of negotiations for 10 February 1993. Dr. Jaka Jamba, who has been in touch with Ms. Margaret Anstee, will set a new date [word indistinct] due only to logistic problems.

3. As for the creation of another UNITA, that is a 10-year-old project that has cost Jose Eduardo dos Santos dearly but has never worried me. Those willing to sell us out for [words indistinct] should know that they will enter the dos Santos circle where old monkeys who opted for the same path before no longer have a say. Their time will also come. That is the psychology of fear [words indistinct]. Yet, there will always be patriots who resist. Our thoughts and solidarity are with them. In the Bible, Peter denied his master.

A. The UNITA leadership salutes Dr. Fatima Roque's release.

B. As for the students and others who have renounced their affiliation with UNITA, they will receive scholarships and other benefits. That will be an experience for

them if one remembers how Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola students (?live) in Portugal, Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Cuba.

4. Genuine Angolans who look at the future with a great deal of uncertainty, and who refuse to be absorbed by alien values, would like to see decisionmakers adopt a balanced approach. UNITA lost the elections to petroleum and diamonds. The dos Santos group received and spent huge sums [words indistinct].

Those who call for the assassination of opposition leaders, in line with what Aldemiro Vaz de Conceicao did in Portugal, are compensated with senior posts. They are the good Komsomol and KGB students and Brezhnev's brothers-in-laws of the yesteryears, but who today opted for petroleum and diamonds. Will they have the strength to fulfill the great desire for peace and national reconciliation? We will not step into those shoes.

Debtors and creditors live in a tight labyrinth and have selfish moral values. They unscrupulously apply different criteria when it comes to the upholding of human rights. They condemn some and pardon others, even when the latter order the massacre of civilians, the raping of women in front of their husbands and children, and the destruction of churches and places of worship. That reminds us of the merciful [name indistinct] who encouraged people to follow the path of their self-destruction.

The world's powerful see the Angolan dispute as a mere internal quarrel. They even go the extent of issuing statements, that we, the small and weak, regard as merciless and unfair because we cannot give up our vital interests. In Angolan, there is still honor and dignity. The sacred petroleum and diamonds can never take the place of man, whatever the circumstances.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos has won irregular and fraudulent elections. After all, he is an extremely trivial and degenerate person, who cannot arouse in the country a general sense of pardoning and national reconciliation in order to guarantee the full independence of Angola. Independence is everything that we have. His true nationality still needs to be clarified. He is a nonentity with many question marks hovering above his head. He cannot deceive us with his statements. He does not propose a truce, but merely a scheme in which there will only be winners and losers.

It was within that framework that we took the manly decision of resisting until the dawning of better days. Our resolve will give us the indispensable strength to overcome the shortcomings.

The Bicesse Accord does not provide for violations like the triple zero option. Such violations have been wiped clean with the generous and heroic blood of Vice President Jeremias Kalandula Chitunda, Engineer Elias Salupeto Pena, and, until it is proved that he is alive, Secretary General Mango Alicerces. Who can live in Luandaland? How can one justify the murder of Jose

Manuel Nunda, one of UNITA's distinguished nurses, who was recently shot dead in Luanda by the Riot Police?

We want peace and are searching for it. Peace should be a win-win situation. Until such time, we will prove that we are right and have the strength to wage a fair struggle. God will be on our side.

[Dictated by] President of UNITA and supreme commander of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola in Huambo on 5 February, 1993, year of the defense of Angolan and African authenticity.

[Signed] Brigadier Elias Malungo Bravo da Costa Pedro Calias, secretary general for the Presidency of UNITA and the Supreme Commander.

UNITA Official on Postponement of Peace Talks
MB0602185793 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 6 Feb 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Angolan opposition movement, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], has announced that it will not be attending next week's round of peace talks with the MPLA-led [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government as planned. The first round of talks finished last weekend in Addis Ababa without the much hoped for cease-fire agreement and amid recriminations about intransigence on both sides. But they both told the UN special representative Margaret Anstee, who chaired the talks, that they would meet again on the 10th—this coming Wednesday. Now though, UNITA has gone back on that commitment. Anthony Goldman asked Brigadier Isaias Samakuva, UNITA's London representative why.

[Begin recording] [Samakuva] The reasons are clearly the logistic ones. I mean, our delegation has not arrived in Huambo yet for logistical reasons. Then, it will not be in time to go to Addis on the 10th. Then, the reason is purely a logistical one.

[Goldman] Nevertheless, you had hoped that the government would make some concessions. Is there any connection at all between your postponement of the talks and the government's refusal to make those concessions?

[Samakuva] No, sir. As I said, the postponement of the meeting is simply because of the logistic reasons. In the meantime, we hope the government will come with more concrete proposal, I mean, will come with more reasonable thinking in order to accept those proposals that UNITA has made on the first round of talks.

[Goldman] At the same time, the statement also says that UNITA is going to continue fighting. Surely, this is not a good sign for the peace process?

[Samakuva] Of course the cease-fire has not been signed yet. Then, before the cease-fire is signed, definitely UNITA will continue to defend itself.

[Goldman] Also though, in the statement attributed to Dr. Savimbi, Dr. Savimbi is making a number of accusations, old accusations about irregular and fraudulent elections, saying that President dos Santos has been deceiving UNITA, refusing truces; and he is following, according to the statement, simply a policy of victors and vanquished. Surely, this is not really the language which is going to help the peace process?

[Samakuva] Well, I think when people want to solve problems between them, have to touch the problems themselves. I mean they have to be sincere in discussing the real matters that constitute the differences between them. If we hide our differences, then we would just reach a cosmetic solution which does not help the situation in the country.

[Goldman] You say that UNITA will not accept the cease-fire until the government agrees to demobilize its special police force. The government wants to put a proposal for a general mobilization before the National Assembly. Doesn't it look very much like the war is really going to go ahead and this idea of peace talks is really going to come to nothing?

[Samakuva] Well, we think that the fundamental issues that constitute the main elements of the conflict, these fundamental issues, have to be solved; and the anti-riot police is one of the fundamental issues that we have to discuss. Then, we think that if the government takes this into account and realize that this anti-riot police was formed after the Bicesse Accord, we think that we can get to a conclusion. But if they keep on with this anti-riot police which is in fact the main element of the conflict, then, I think, problems will continue.

[Goldman] Are the peace accords dead? Is it really war again?

[Samakuva] Well, we don't think so. We reaffirmed at Addis Ababa our commitment to Bicesse Accord. Then, it is a question of everybody to recognize the value of this accord and to fulfill it.

[Goldman] When do you think you are going to be back at the negotiating table?

[Samakuva] As soon as possible, Sir. [end recording]

Government Official Views Postponement Decision

MB0602210393 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Interview with General Higinio Carneiro, spokesman of the government delegation to Addis Ababa meeting with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, by Luanda Radio's Pedro Manuel; place not given—live]

[Text] [Manuel] According to the latest reports, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] will not go to Addis Ababa on 10 February because the delegation which attended the first round of talks has not yet arrived in Huambo?

[Carneiro] Well, that is natural. We could not expect anything else from UNITA. As is always the case, [words indistinct] and it tries to find pretexts. Obviously, for the government, which is already used to this kind of behavior, this is not strange. As a matter of fact, we had said in Addis Ababa that we would only attend the 10 February meeting if UNITA was ready to sign a cease-fire.

[Manuel] So you consider this to be a pretext by UNITA?

[Carneiro] It is just a pretext; we have information that the UNITA delegation left Addis Ababa 2 February. Where is the delegation now? Only the UNITA leadership can answer that question. The government has nothing to do with it. Meanwhile, we cannot understand how the UNITA leadership (?cannot have the information). This is astonishing.

[Manuel] Then, in this case, the government is only waiting for UNITA to be available for the meeting?

[Carneiro] Yes. In Addis Ababa, the government expressed its readiness to sign a cease-fire immediately. This was not possible, however, because the UNITA delegation did not have a mandate to sign a cease-fire. It was just trying to gain time.

[Manuel] Mr. General, information received from UNITA says Mr. Jaka Jamba has been holding direct and frequent talks with Ms. Anstee to try to postpone the meeting to a later date. I do not know whether the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 [UNAVEM-2] has already said anything to the government.

[Carneiro] About five minutes ago, the UNAVEM-2 revealed to me that Mr. Jaka Jamba had called to express UNITA's concern.

[Manuel] For how many days will the meeting be postponed? Did UNAVEM-2 say?

[Carneiro] What the UNAVEM said is that UNITA did not talk about postponement. It said that it was concerned because its delegation which went to Addis Ababa had not yet returned to Huambo [words indistinct] the delegation would not arrive in Huambo.

[Manuel] What do you mean, General?

[Carneiro] It is obvious. Where will it land? Will it land at Huambo airport?

[Manuel] In other words, you are saying the government totally controls Huambo?

[Carneiro] I would not say totally, but it has situation under control.

[Manuel] Thank you very much, Mr. General. In brief, the government is waiting for UNITA to be available for talks. The government has its doors open?

[Carneiro] Correct.

[Manuel] Thank you very much for the interview, Mr. General.

[Carneiro] Do not mention it.

UNITA Releases 21 Foreigners

MB0702203993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Foreign citizens kidnapped by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola were freed today, and they are currently in Libreville, the capital of Gabon. A total of 21 foreigners were released in the operation, which took place in an unknown area in northern Angola. This was confirmed by Vincent Nicod, representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Angola.

[Begin recording] [Nicod] The operation has taken place. I still do not have all the details. I am still gathering information. I know that there were problems of security connected with bombings, but I have no further details on the operation. I know, however, that the operation took place as was scheduled.

[Unidentified reporter] What about the number of people who were released?

[Nicod] Twenty-one people were released.

[Reporter] Their nationalities?

[Nicod] I still do not have all the information, but first reports indicated the presence of Portuguese and British citizens, one Argentinian, one Italian, and two (?Indonesians).

[Reporter] The place where these people were released is unknown and also unknown is the place where they went?

[Nicod] Well, it will probably be Libreville, Gabon.

[Reporter] That is where they went after the release?

[Nicod] Exactly. [end recording]

Air Force Reportedly Attacks

MB0802073693 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Communique issued by the General Staff of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola in Huambo on 7 February—read by announcer]

[Text] 1. With the release of Soyo's oil experts at Uige Airport on 7 February 1993, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] fulfilled its promise.

2. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] air force scrambled its MiG's, which bombed the airport at the precise moment the foreign experts were boarding their plane. None of the foreign experts were hit. Regrettably, one of the UNITA soldiers providing security to the operation was killed. He is Non-commissioned Officer Anastacio Bibi Amos. Several other soldiers were seriously injured.

3. Whereas foreign journalists and delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross were present at the airport, we would like to see and hear their comments.

4. What about human rights? Should no comments be made, the international community would be regarded as coward.

The fate of thousands of Angolans massacred in Luanda and in other parts of the country, only because they were not from Luandaland [words indistinct]. The whole state of affairs makes our fatherland [words indistinct] fraudulent elections.

[Issued in] Huambo, 7 February 1993, year of the defense of Angolan and African authenticity

[Signed] Army General Artindo Chenda Isaac Pena Ben-Ben, chief of General Staff

Government-UNITA Fighting Continues

Diamond Areas Reportedly Targeted

MB0602134493 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] continues to deploy troops and a considerable number of mercenaries from Zaire with the intention of launching simultaneous raids on diamond producing areas in Lunda Norte Province.

Meanwhile, Lunda Norte Police Commander Manuel Gouveia said that sweep operations are being carried out along the border area in order to thwart UNITA's actions. The operations began early in January and the police have inflicted casualties on UNITA. Local sources revealed that UNITA is still moving in small groups, murdering old people, women, and children. In view of these terror tactics, some 500 youths are willing to fight against UNITA.

A group of UNITA soldiers equipped with 120-mm mortars infiltrated the city of Luena at 2000 yesterday in order to carry out sabotage operations. In Moxico Province, UNITA is moving troops in the Luao and Cameia areas, heading to Chicala.

In Namibe, government troops are on a state of alert following reports that the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] plan to launch attacks on various locations.

In Bie Province, FALA soldiers continue to shell Cuito airport, forcing the residents to abandon their houses.

Attacks on Cuito Expected

MB0702144593 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] The military situation continues tense on the battlefield. In Bie Province, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is concentrating men around the city of Cuito with the objective of taking it with attacks beginning tomorrow. It is being assisted by Zairian and South African mercenaries.

Francisco Majota, Bie provincial national police commander, told our reporting team that there are South Africans in Camacupa District and Zairians in northern Cuito. The South Africans arrived in the district aboard a Hercules aircraft. Francisco Majota has further details.

It will also be pointed out that [words indistinct] in Camacupa District. Following problems that UNITA faced [words indistinct] youths in Catacola and Camacupa Districts, it is now being assisted by whites. We believe these whites are South Africans who are always assisting UNITA [words indistinct] once troops have been trained, they are automatically sent to the battlefield, particularly to reinforce its troops in Huambo Province.

We have also learned that there is a concentration of UNITA troops in the (Bugale) area. UNITA troops are concentrating there because once again they want to attack the city of Cuito between 8 and 10 February. This does not bother us, however. In addition, three aircraft landed in Andulo District, carrying war materiel and some elements [words indistinct] a Hercules aircraft which landed in Camacupa District a few days ago.

UN To Extend Mission, Expand Role

MB0802070693 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] The UN Security Council wants to keep a verification team in Angola after the UN Angola Verification Mission-2's [UNAVEM-2] mandate has expired. The new team will be called UNAVEM-3 and will begin operating after 30 April. It will have wider powers that may include disarming illegal National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] forces.

UNAVEM-3 is also expected to play a more direct role in the actual implementation of Bicesse Accord clauses. The UN Security Council has expressed these intentions in the wake of a diplomatic offensive by the Angolan Government and Foreign Affairs Minister Venancio de Moura. Minister de Moura was in New York for nearly

two weeks. What he managed after meetings with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and several UN-accredited diplomats is already being termed a diplomatic victory by the Angolan Government, in a clear allusion to the recent UN Security Council resolution condemning UNITA for war in Angola.

FALA Generals Reaffirm Withdrawal From FAA

MB0502144493 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Army General Arlindo Chenda Isaac Pena Ben-Ben, chief of staff of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], today read a declaration issued by FALA generals within the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA], but who are not in the custody of the Futungo de Belas government. Gen. Ben-Ben reads the declaration:

[Begin Ben-Ben recording] Declaration From FALA Generals Within the FAA who Are Not in Luanda's Custody.

The declaration issued by FALA generals within the FAA on 5 October 1992 was prompted by deviations in the political process in view of the shameless fraud that was committed as the first steps toward democracy in Angola were being taken. Taking into account the developments that unfolded then, namely the massacre of defenseless civilians, the raping of women in front of their husbands and children, and the destruction of cities throughout the country during which churches were not spared;

Whereas that was carried out on behalf of the FAA, and in view of the abusive transfer to the FAA of People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola personnel, who brought along with them unpopular practices to the ranks of the new armed forces;

Considering that the FAA should be the guarantor of peace for the people of our country [words indistinct] other FALA generals who issued a declaration in Luanda, agreeing to reintegrate into the FAA, we, who are not in Luanda's custody, would like to state:

1. That we will maintain our position until a balanced situation has been created in order to curb abuses.
2. The ongoing [words indistinct] to resolve the crisis that is ravaging our country.
3. The FAA should fully represent the two sides in order to reflect the principles which led to their formation.

[Issued] Huambo, 5 February 1993

[Signed] Generals Arlindo Chenda Isaac Pena, Domingos Yauka Lutoque, Demostenes Amos Chilingutula, Abilio Numa, Job Sunguete Langussele. [end recording]

That was Gen. Ben-Ben reading a declaration issued by FALA generals in the FAA. He was speaking from the central plateau where he is in charge of military operations.

Finance Minister Comments on Currency Auction

MB0602113493 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] The Angolan currency, the kwanza, has not been devalued, contrary to what has been reported. Finance Minister Salomao Chirimbimbi said the auctioning of foreign currency is designed to revalue a country's currency. Speaking to reporters at the end of a special session of the Council of Ministers, Salomao Chirimbimbi said the auction should not be seen as a devaluation.

[Begin Chirimbimbi recording] The market forces have reacted to the auction. The auction not only fixed the rate below the 10,000-kwanza mark, but resulted in the informal market lowering its rate.

As you know, that did not happen when the currency was devalued in the past. The exchange rate on the informal market increased as we devalued the Angolan currency from 30 to 60 percent and up to 250 percent. With the auction the reverse happened. So, that is not a devaluation of the currency. In fact, actions are designed to stabilize a currency. In our case, the stabilization of the foreign exchange market consists in dropping the value of foreign currency.

I cannot guarantee that the dollar-kwanza exchange rate will remain at 7,000 kwanzas. That would only be possible if the government controls the budget and if we all contribute to that goal. In that case, the exchange rate could even drop further.

It is appropriate to ask: How can one speak of devaluation if the exchange rate has dropped from 10 to seven, and from seven to five? Is that devaluation? I would say it is not. It is a revaluation of the currency. [end recording]

Taking into account what has happened in the past, the finance minister said that in real terms, the devaluation of the kwanza in relation to the dollar applied to the informal market.

[Begin Chirimbimbi recording] In real terms, a dollar was worth about 10,000 kwanzas, while the official rate was 550 kwanzas. Many of you wanted to buy dollars at the official rate, but the bank would not sell them to you. You had to buy dollars at 10,000 kwanzas. Due to schemes and even as a result of state protectionism, a handful of people managed to buy merchandise at a rate of 550 kwanzas for the dollar. They then resold the merchandise at 10,000 kwanzas to the dollar. So, those people took advantage of the difference in value.

From a political and social standpoint I would describe that state of affairs as social injustice in that the government permitted the distribution of income to only benefit a few while the majority of the people suffered. [end recording]

Salomao Chirimbimbi said the economic recovery program is not designed to increase prices, but to drop them.

[Begin Chirimbimbi recording] When the exchange rate for the dollar was 550 kwanzas, workers—and myself included—complained that prices were rising. The increase was in line with the rate of exchange practiced on the informal market. With a drop from 10 to seven, prices will not increase, but instead drop. I hope that that is the case, unless speculators challenge the government. That can result in prices remaining as they are. Import costs will also drop.

In line with that situation, the government announced that it would adjust salaries. I should point out that the salary adjustment will not be automatically introduced. That is to prevent an escalation in the cost of living. So, we have recommended a gradual salary increase. As the rate of exchange drops, we will increase the workers' purchasing power. That will mean an improvement in living standards, instead of an improvement in your purchasing power. For instance, let us assume that today you were earning 300,000 kwanzas with the dollar at 10,000 kwanzas. With the rate at 7,000 kwanzas, your salary will increase to 350,000 kwanzas, to 400,000 kwanzas if the rate is fixed at 6,000 kwanzas, and so on. That clearly shows that the cost of living is not increasing, but instead declining.

Because the rate of exchange is dropping and salaries are rising, while the state has not increased income tax, the standard of living of workers should increase. [end recording]

Malawi

Banda Announces Postponement of Referendum

MB0502183893 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] His excellency the life president, Ngwazi [Paramount] Dr. Kamuzu Banda, has announced the postponement of the national referendum from 15th March to 14th June this year. The life president made the announcement today when he addressed a public meeting at the Mzuzu Stadium [words indistinct] to continue his tour of the northern region.

The Ngwazi told the huge crowd that when he announced the date of the referendum, he had also invited teams from the United Nations and the international community to send teams to help the government in organizing the referendum and to monitor the referendum itself. The life president said the United Nations secretary general, Dr. Butrus-Ghali, had written to him to express concern over the closeness of the date of 15th

March. The Ngwazi said for this reason, the United Nations chief had asked him to put forward the date of the referendum to enable the United Nations and other organizations to prepare for their participation in the referendum process.

His excellency the life president said the request made by Dr. Butrus-Ghali is genuine and important for the success of the referendum. The life president therefore called on all eligible voters, including women, to register in order for them to participate in the national referendum on 14th June. In his speech, the Ngwazi dismissed allegations that the government would [words indistinct] the government will only arrest those who break the law.

Minister Explains Move

MB0502190593 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 5 Feb 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Opposition groups in Malawi finally got today what they have been demanding for months—a delay to the referendum on multiparty democracy. It was scheduled to take place on 15th March, but opponents of the government claim this didn't give them enough time to prepare. UN inspectors also urged the government to delay the vote, and now President Banda has announced a new date of 14th June. On the line to Lilongwe, Robin White asked ruling party spokesman and Health Minister Heatherwick Ntaba why the government had changed its mind.

[Begin recording] [Ntaba] Well, the life president made it quite clear in his announcement that he had received a letter from the secretary general of the United Nations, Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali, in which the secretary general expressed some concerns about not enough time being available for the UN system to organize and prepare for their participation in the referendum.

[White] So, he has bowed to international pressure?

[Ntaba] It is not international pressure. It is the realistic situation where the UN, specifically, would not be able to organize themselves to participate in the referendum. I don't see how that should be termed international pressure.

[White] Do you think that the delay is going to give the opposition a better chance now?

[Ntaba] That would be up to the opposition to answer that question.

[White] But what about you? Will it make your chances better or worse?

[Ntaba] Our chances have always been very good. We have always been prepared to get into the referendum any time because of our assessment of the mood of the

people. The delay is not going to affect the chances from what they have been all this time.

[White] So, you still you are going to win?

[Ntaba] We know we are going to win, yes.

[White] What about the other opposition demands, like they want to be represented on the government-appointed referendum commission? Are you going to let them do that?

[Ntaba] These were issues that were never raised in the letter from the secretary general. The question of the composition of the Referendum Commission or the ballot box issues, these were never raised in the secretary general's letter, but I imagine these are issues that could be discussed between the two parties interested in the referendum in Malawi and I think they will be resolved.

[White] So, it shows as if you are getting suddenly very flexible?

[Ntaba] The Malawi Government, and especially the life president, he has always been responsive to the needs of the Malawi people.

[White] But isn't it the truth of the matter is that the international community is pushing you very hard; otherwise you won't get aid?

[Ntaba] Well, people are free to interpret the situation in the way they want, but the truth of the matter is just what I stated to you: The life president was responding to a letter from the secretary general of the United Nations. [end recording]

Aford Welcomes Decision

MB0602191793 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 6 Feb 93

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] The opposition party in Malawi, the Alliance for Democracy [Aford], has welcomed the decision by President Banda to delay by three months a referendum on ending one-party rule in the country. The alliance says it will now have more time to prepare for the poll. President Banda announced the delay yesterday, saying he was responding to a request from the United Nations. The alliance says it is still concerned about several regulations governing the referendum which, it says, could make it (?less) than free and fair.

Postponement Said 'Not Sufficient'

MB0602050693 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 5 Feb 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Excerpts] Opposition groups in Malawi finally got today what they have been demanding for months—a delay to

the referendum on multiparty democracy. It was scheduled to take place on 15th March, but opponents of the government claimed this didn't give them enough time to prepare. UN inspectors also urged the government to delay the vote. Now President Banda has announced a new date of 14th June. [passage omitted]

It is quite a victory for the Malawi opposition in what promises to be a tough campaign for them, even with the referendum postponed until 14th June. On the line to Lilongwe, Barnaby Philips asked (Msisho Mudikai) of the Public Affairs Committee, an alliance of pro-democracy groups, whether they welcome the news.

[(Mudikai)] We welcome this particular announcement but in itself, it is not sufficient.

[Philips] Why not?

[(Mudikai)] It is not sufficient because this represents an acceptance of one of the recommendations of the United Nations [word indistinct], and they had in fact several recommendations. In particular, we are concerned that on Monday [8 February], the voter registration exercise begins, yet there are no monitors, local or international. Also, there are other aspects of the UN recommendations which have not been addressed at all.

[Philips] But Mr. Ntaba, who was just on this program, said that all your other complaints would be looked into as well?

[(Mudikai)] Well, about a month ago, we issued a statement in which we indicated our unqualified acceptance of the recommendations of United Nations and indicated that we might boycott the referendum if the government did not indicate its own position. That statement was simply ignored, and even the change of the date which has been announced today, it comes about as a result, it seems, of pressure from the UN or communication from UN secretary general.

[Philips] But it seems today the government is bending over backward to be fair. They have given in on the big demand—the date—and they say they are going to look at all the other issues. What more could you possibly want?

[(Mudikai)] If indeed, they are going to look at the other issues, that is something which we welcome. Now, they know all the other issues because these issues have already been spelled out in the UN report and the reason for the UN adopting that particular recommendation, it has been fully given in that report. In fact, it would be more appropriate for them to indicate their acceptance of that report instead of waiting for pressure, international or local, to move toward a very sensible position which was put forward by the United Nations.

[Philips] Is this the position of all the opposition groups. Have you spoken to UDF [United Democratic Front] and Aford [Alliance for Democracy] leaders tonight?

[(Mudikai)] Yes, it is our position, indeed. Yes, all of them, and we are saying our decision to consider not participating in the referendum, unless all the other conditions are also met and there is discussion also on the composition of the Referendum Commission, its independence, its neutrality, and unless referendum regulations and rules are established and [words indistinct] discussed with all parties concerned, then we still have fundamental problems with the entire process and we cannot at the end produce a free and fair exercise without first addressing these issues. [end recording]

Voter Registration Extended

MB0702190393 Blantyre Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Voter registration for the forthcoming national referendum opens tomorrow at various centers throughout the country [words indistinct] registration exercise has been extended from tomorrow to the 7th of March this year. Professor Chimphamba explained that the registration exercise has been extended from a period of two weeks to one month in order to enable international observers to observe part if not all of the registration process, now that the referendum will take place on 14th June.

He appealed to all Malawian citizens, from age 21 above, to turn up at the centers in large numbers and register as voters. Prof. Chimphamba also appealed to all prospective voters in the referendum to register at centers related to the area where they are ordinarily residents.

Democratic Party To Return, Join Aford, UDF

MB0702070593 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 6 Feb 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] With the Malawian opposition on a high, having won a delay of the referendum until June from President Banda, one exiled opposition party has decided that this is the right moment to go home. The Democratic Party has been based in South Africa for many years, but, despite the active role of the opposition groups, the UDF [United Democratic Front] and Aford [Alliance for Democracy], inside Malawi for some months now, they have delayed their return until this week. On the line to Johannesburg, Anthony Goldman asked John Banda, of the Democratic Party, why they had left it so late.

[Begin recording] [Banda] In fact, the situation was like on the question of going back home. [sentence as heard] We have not taken that decision (?alone), because the question was not all conducive in the past [words indistinct] (?he) has to go back home but now, we feel, as we are approaching the days of referendum, it is time that we should be home and we should assist those who are already on the ground.

[Goldman] Do you not think, though, that perhaps there are already enough opposition groups in Malawi?

[Banda] In fact, it is not a question of how many opposition parties are there in Malawi right now, but all of us we have got one thing in mind: that is to achieve much better government in our country. That is all.

[Goldman] Will you be looking to cooperate with the UDF and Aford, or will you be looking to strike out on your own?

[Banda] We have been always working hand-in-hand with Aford, with UDF; so our going home is also another advantage to the two pressure groups which are already in the country because all along we have been working as one.

[Goldman] Now, Aford and the UDF have been holding a number of public rallies up and down the country. They have attracted quite a lot of support. Isn't there a danger that by coming back into the frame so late that you are going to look a little bit like johnny come lately?

[Banda] As we have already been spearheading the changes in our country, we don't think that we are going to lose support, or that we can lose support because of that. In fact, everybody who is supporting multiparty is also supporting MDP [Malawi Democratic Party] and the MDP, as you know it, is not a party that is against Aford or that is against UDF. We [word indistinct] both pressure groups, and we have been working with both pressure groups together for a long time.

[Goldman] But what can you add to what they are already doing in the country?

[Banda] What we are going to add is to democratize the society, and we are going there to continue with our educational programs, which we have already [been] doing on Radio Channel Africa, and we want to implement those radio broadcasts now into real (?training) in the community of Malawi, in different parts of Malawi, so our going there is going to be an advantage to both pressure groups.

[Goldman] The government of Malawi's announcement that it is going to delay the referendum until June: UDF and Aford still appear a little reluctant to take part in that unless there are further concessions. Where does the Democratic Party stand on this issue of participation?

[Banda] As we have been out of the ground, and we are in exile here, it is important that we should go home and get more information from our friends of Aford, UDF inside the country, and those people should at least show us the picture of how the position is looking at the whole issue, so we can react from that. We cannot tell you now what we feel or where indeed we are standing because we are outside the country. [end recording]

Ghana**ICC Wants Rawlings To Reconsider Military Alert Move***AB0702105693 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900 GMT 6 Feb 93*

[Text] Concerning the situation in Togo, the Interparty Coordination Committee [ICC] in Ghana, which comprises the four major opposition parties, has called on President Jerry Rawlings to reconsider his decision to put the Armed Forces on the alert as a result of the disturbances in Togo. This decision, announced on 1 February, was, according to the Ghana Government, aimed at enabling the military to participate in the exercise for aiding the 200,000 refugees—the figure given by the border administrative authorities—who arrived from Togo over the past seven days. In a communique published in Accra yesterday evening, the ICC said the decision to put on the alert the Ghanaian Army—16,000 men—was likely to make Togo, which shares 800 km of common border with Ghana, take similar steps. The committee stated that this decision was aimed at diverting Ghanaians' attention from the country's domestic problems, namely economic difficulties. The alert is used by the government as a pretext to channel the country's resources for war purposes, a situation which can only create more hardships for citizens already bowing under the weight of their economic difficulties.

Paper Seeks Explanation for U.S. Inaugural Presence*AB0602221093 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 6 Feb 93*

[From the press review]

[Text] The GHANAIAN TIMES comments on a U.S. Embassy report published in THE WASHINGTON POST on the 5th of January concerning a controversy over the composition of the United States delegation to the inauguration of Ghana's Fourth Republic.

The paper says the report stated in part that the U.S. Embassy in Accra had recommended a low-profile U.S. presence at the inauguration. According to the report, the idea of a low-key delegation was mooted by the embassy officials in Accra as a sign of their personal displeasure over the victory of President Rawlings and the NDC [National Democratic Congress] in the November 3d election.

In the view of the TIMES, the report in THE WASHINGTON POST, if true, is a serious indictment of the U.S. Embassy in Accra whose duty, it presumes, is to promote friendship and a healthy relationship between the governments and people of the two countries.

The paper considers it imperative for the U.S. Embassy to state its position on this, now that the matter has come

into the open because it amounts to a declaration of hostility against the government of the NDC.

Ivory Coast**Namibia's Geingob Meets With Houphouet-Boigny***AB0502201593 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 1245 GMT 5 Feb 93*

[Text] Namibian Prime Minister Hage Gottfried Geingob, who had been on an official visit to our country since 1 February, left Abidjan this morning for his country. The head of the Namibian Government was received yesterday evening by the head of state, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, with whom he reviewed the problems relating to bilateral cooperation. Mr. Geingob was seen off at the Abidjan Port-Bouet Airport by Ivorian Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara and many Cabinet members. Prior to his departure, Mr. Geingob made an important statement in which he spoke of the highlights of his visit.

[Begin Geingob recording in English, followed by French translation] What I consider one of the most important highlights is my call on the president of the Republic and father of the nation yesterday. We discussed conflict zones and peace in Africa as well as the reconciliation prevailing in Namibia, which is the only way of ensuring continued development and peace. We—my delegation and I—were very impressed by what was achieved in this country after my first visit a long time ago, that is 1971, and now I have noted that a lot of infrastructural projects have been implemented, including schools. When we visited the Ivorian Refinery Corporation, we noted that there exists an Ivorian expertise. All this impressed us a lot. If we can cooperate within the South-South relations framework, this would be beneficial for the continent. We can also buy Ivorian products, and when we start our oil industry and have our refinery, we will then import Ivorian expertise. We will cooperate in various sectors like bitumen. We can set up storage facilities in Namibia to supply the entire subregion with it and with petroleum products.

We also met with the management of the African Development Bank [ADB]. We were already in contact with them. We were also impressed by this institution's staff who talked about the possibilities of increasing cooperation between Namibia and the ADB. I would like to thank the prime minister and his aides, in particular, for the warm, African reception accorded us during our visit to Ivory Coast. Of course, I invited him to go and visit us in Namibia, and I hope that he will make it. [end recording]

Mr. Geingob spent five days in our country.

Discusses Relations, Pretoria

AB0702142093 Abidjan *FRATERNITE MATIN* in
French 6-7 Feb 93 p 22, 23

["Exclusive" interview with Hage Geingob, Namibian prime minister, by correspondent Noel Yao in Abidjan on 4 February]

[Excerpts] [Yao] Mr. Prime Minister, Ivorians, especially the leadership of this country, cannot understand how Namibia—which received the Ivory Coast's support during its independence struggle—should only now, three years after attaining sovereignty, be paying them a visit of this caliber. How do you explain that?

[Geingob] Well, there is no deadline for visiting friends. As a young independent state, we had to face several challenges: reorganize the society, set up government structures, and so on.

Therefore, the time taken to come here does not mean anything at all. What matters is that we have come to Ivory Coast to pay tribute to and thank your country for the assistance it gave us. We were honored with an impressive, brotherly reception. The audience with the head of state adds another dimension to the quality of our relations.

Having said this, as Namibian and Ivorian officials, we meet at the United Nations, OAU, and so on.

[Yao] President Nujoma is expected here in Ivory Coast after your visit. When is his visit expected to take place?

[Geingob] He was already expected to visit Ivory Coast last year. The visit was put off as a result of technical hitches, not on our side, though. President Nujoma could come to Ivory Coast at any appropriate time. I cannot tell you exactly when this will be. [passage omitted]

[Yao] The Walvis Bay question is one of the unresolved issues you have with your former colonial power, South Africa. Surely, some progress has been made in the negotiations, but the problem is yet to find a solution satisfactory to you....

[Geingob] Since your last visit to Namibia, there has been some progress. That is correct. A system of joint administration has been set up. We have appointed an administrator who will jointly run affairs. This is an important first step toward integration. We only hope that things would develop positively in South Africa so that we can resolve the problem.

[Yao] What is the state of relations today between you and your powerful neighbor, South Africa? You have a relationship of economic dependence with Pretoria (the South African Rand is still spent in Namibia), for instance. Is this a matter of serious concern to you?

[Geingob] The question of economic independence or dependence is a complex one. No country is economically independent in the world, not even the superpowers. We are dependent on South Africa, our former colonial master, which weighs heavily on the economies within the subregion, Africa, and even beyond. This is a reality. We are making efforts to diversify our economic ties. We are thinking in terms of subregional economy. All that is achieved only step by step.

[Yao] On your independence day in Windhoek, President De Klerk promised relations based on good neighborliness between his country and Namibia. Would you say today that your political relations with South Africa are excellent and exemplary?

[Geingob] In diplomatic language we call it "cordial" or "honest relations," not good or bad relations. We do not provoke them. They do not provoke us.

We know their interests. There are a lot of South Africans in Namibia who have become citizens. They may owe allegiance to South Africa. So, everywhere we see supporters of South Africa.

[Yao] Does the present situation in Angola constitute a threat for Namibia?

[Geingob] The situation in a neighboring country which is not stable is in itself a threat, because there could be an influx of refugees and this disrupts existing balances. That is not the only problem. We want Angolans to regain and enjoy peace. They have been suffering for far too long and it is high time democracy took root in Angola and South Africa. This is particularly important because we are hemmed in between the two giants.

[Yao] Could you tell us what kind of cooperation is going to develop following your visit?

[Geingob] First, I visited your refinery. We are interested to see what we could do together. We will particularly see what we could receive from this refinery. In fact, we are already receiving a lot from this refinery. We think we should be able to procure refined products directly from here at a much lower price. We raised the question of bitumen. At the moment, we depend on South Africa and I think that in this area too we are going to see concrete cooperation.

Article Analyzes America's 'Decline,' World Situation

AB0602175393 Abidjan *FRATERNITE MATIN* in
French 2 Feb 93 p 11

[Article by Ibrahim Sy Savane: "Decline, What Decline?"]

[Text] Is America sick without knowing it? In any case, periodically, theses and hypotheses have emerged about the so-called decline of the first and, now, sole world superpower. However, a few years ago, when the communist bloc was noisily and angrily falling apart, each

one of us celebrated the role played by the United States of America. People talked about America ruling eternally over a world that had lost one of its rightful leading powers, in a word, a "monopolized" world. At the time, very few people were aware of the fact that the most serious danger for the United States of America lay precisely in the lack of competition. Everybody knows that even the greatest athlete suffers if he does not have a worthy sparring partner.

The USSR is no longer there to challenge its authority and Europe, hesitating and entirely taken up with controlling the miasma of its tribal conflicts, cannot ensure a leadership role for the moment.

This need for a challenger appears today as the main handicap of a country whose history and success are a succession of challenges that were met through the mastery of a vital space to create a nation; challenges that were met through internal and external wars which, instead of destroying the country, have each time led to the revival of the utopia of the first days.

It is this almost fanatic belief in its destiny and its intentions that has at all times, driven the American nation in its quest of leadership. To make a paradoxical statement, we could say that the USSR strongly contributed to the rise of the United States by the mere fact that the Soviets remarkably served as a foil that helped to galvanize Americans, mobilize energies, establish the necessary ties, and strengthen external alliances with the professed goal of protecting the rest of the world.

No comparable danger exists today, and it is, therefore, not surprising that the zeal has dulled. Internally, doubts have crept into the minds of the elite, while despair has installed itself in the cities, where living standards have stagnated although not in decline. Maybe America has unconsciously lowered its pretensions. Even the election of Mr. Clinton, along with Al Gore—a well-known and militant ecologist—might be symptomatic of a desire to break away from the "military-industrial complex." It is as if America now wants to settle down to its domestic problems. The establishment of a National Economic Council, modeled on the National Security Council, is proof of this point.

However, it would be odd to talk of America's decline and lack of ambition. If anything, we should make everything relative and remember that the whole world is in decline, out of breath, and only aspiring to survive by managing its constraints.

Liberia

ECOMOG Condemns Murder of British National

AB0602171093 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] The West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] says it is greatly shocked over

the news of the murder of the British national, Mr. Brian Graham. ECOMOG says it deplores the killing, describing it as a wanton and wicked act. The force is therefore reminding all Liberians that as a peacekeeping force, it is in Liberia to ensure that absolute peace reigns in all parts of the country.

According to an ECOMOG release issued yesterday [5 February], the force restates that it is the full responsibility of every Liberian to secure life and property, especially those of the innocent people around. Any act to the contrary by any individual or group at this stage of the peace efforts in the country, ECOMOG pointed out, remains inimical and harmful to the common subregional mission in Liberia. ECOMOG, however, says it will continue to do all it can to help restore peace and tranquillity to Liberia, but added that it will never, in any way, condone any further act of irresponsibility by any faction in the Liberian crisis. It is therefore calling on the Armed Forces of Liberia, the AFL, to carry out total investigations into the killing of Mr. Graham. Those found guilty of this crime, ECOMOG says, should fear the full weight of the law so as to serve as a deterrent to others who may want to commit similar criminal acts in the future.

The force has also extended sincere condolences to the family of the late Brian Graham. Mr. Graham was killed by armed men alleged to be that of the AFL at the Institute of (Ba) Medical Research near Robertsfield Magibi County.

Meanwhile, a memorial service for the late Brian Graham, the British national, will be held today at one o'clock at Our Lady of Lebanon Catholic Church on Capitol Hill.

Nigeria

Attorney General Receives Disturbances Tribunal Report

AB0502124993 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1030 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] The attorney general of the federation and secretary for justice, Mr. Clement Akpamgbo, has said that government was taking a serious view on the rampant cases of religious intolerance and disturbances in the country. Mr. Akpamgbo stated this when he received the report of the Justice Benedict Okadigbo Civil and Communal Disturbances Tribunal yesterday in Abuja.

The secretary for justice stressed that the verdict of the tribunal and those of the Justice Karybie-White of 1987 still had to be confirmed, reviewed, or rejected by the National Security and Defense Council, NSDC. He thanked members of Justice Okadigbo Tribunal on behalf of the Federal Government for the way they handled their assignment.

Earlier, Justice Okadigbo, submitting the report, said that the tribunal disposed of six cases. He, on behalf of

his colleagues, thanked the government for granting them the opportunity to serve.

Justice Secretary Reviews Zangon-Kataf Decision

AB0402175293 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English 1030 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] The secretary for justice and attorney general of the federation, Mr. Clement Akpamgbo, has expressed confidence in the ability of the National Defense and Security Council [NDSC] to look critically at the case of those implicated and sentenced to death in the Zangon-Kataf crisis, if and when appeals come before the Council. Mr. Akpamgbo stated this yesterday evening while briefing newsmen. Yemi Sakaidu in Abuja, who is on the line, and our staff, who is Peter Ijoni, in Lagos, examine the developments so far on the case of those convicted.

[Begin recording] [Sakaidu] Well, there are a lot of questions put forward in this regard. First, I'd say that no matter your level of influence in the country, the law is no respecter of any person. Well, it was glaring that people were killed, that some people were accused of culpable homicide, and that those who were killed did not kill themselves but were killed by people, and that—in fact—some people organized this. So based on this, one could say that General Lekwot was found guilty of that. But if you look at what happened during the trial—the withdrawal of the defense counsels and some other things like that—one would have to see whether in the past a precedent had been set for a judge to pass judgment where the defense counsel failed to enter his defense before the case was wound up. So, in this respect, I still think that a lot of things will have to be put into consideration before the actual sentence is acted upon.

[Ijoni] Now that the case has been decided, do they have right of appeal?

[Sakaidu] Are you saying whether they have a right of appeal?

[Ijoni] Yes.

[Sakaidu] Yes. Last night, the attorney general addressed newsmen in Abuja, correcting the impression earlier created by some media organizations that the accused persons had no right of appeal. According to the justice secretary, he said the appeal could be in the form of a petition from any person, or even from the accused persons themselves, or any other organizations who might have been briefed by the accused persons, to the NDSC, and that it is all as if a [words indistinct] from listening to the appeal or petition, but because all matters relating to life and death will have to be passed to the NDSC for ratification or modification, in whatever form you look at it. So in this regard, they have right of appeal, which is in line with human rights.

[Ijoni] So what is the development now? Has there been any appeals so far?

[Sakaidu] No, not now. According to the justice secretary, he said that when the report, or the verdict, of the tribunal comes out, members of the counsel to the accused persons should know what to do. They should (?then) follow up this with an appeal to the NDSC, and, in fact, he has stated that he had already requested for a certified copy of the judgment so as to understand the proceedings leading to the conviction of the accused persons, so as to advise government accordingly. This, I think, is in the right direction, because it is a matter of life and death, and must be taken with utmost care, because Nigerians are not interested in killing people for no just reason and, of course, they cannot but punish those who have been responsible for the mass killing of people in that part of the country. Of course, we realize that when the crisis blew out, a lot of lives were lost, and it even threatened national security. So based on this, people should be punished, but this must be seen to be just. [end recording]

Togo

Official Notes Importance of Colmar Talks

AB0702212693 Lome Radio Lome in French 1230 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Commentary by Yapobi Tachibara, deputy director for communications at the Ministry of Youth, Sports, Leisure, Communications, and Culture]

[Text] By tomorrow at the latest, we will all be in Colmar at the price of our pride and dignity, but in the supreme interest of the Togolese nation. The Franco-German invitation could have been rejected because dialogue and consultations between the various partners of the Togolese political game should take place on Togolese soil, especially as such dialogue and consultations are bound to be permanent, and also because we cannot run to outsiders each time a consensus is needed for the smooth running of our institutions and our country. It is therefore a necessity and it is high time Togolese learned how to talk to one another in their own country in order to show their political maturity. Besides, Togolese are certainly experiencing a very serious sociopolitical crisis, but they are not at war.

Under the circumstances, a roundtable meeting, such as the one recommended in Strasbourg and then in Colmar on 5 and then 7 February, should have been prepared with all the parties agreeing on the venue, date, procedure, and even agenda. Instead, the invitation was issued to us like an order to small boys quarreling to go and explain their differences before the elderly. Unfortunately, we have reached a stage where we will all go to Colmar regardless of our reservations and our recriminations, because we must go. For some politicians have done their best to make Togolese less and less respectable and Togo less and less sovereign and dignified.

Today, we have reached the abyss of shame through self-denigration. We have run the gamut of errors and

horrors. We have gone from the desecration of the dead to the launching of a deadly strike through an outright rejection of direct dialogue and all the youth that we sent to the slaughterhouse, especially on 25 January. The international community has therefore taken hold of the Togolese case without any further ceremony. This is why we will all go to Colmar with the hope that our French and German friends will be able to avoid a replay of our 1991 national conference; that they will be able to differentiate between power madness, regionalist and racist sentiments, various forms of hatred, and a genuine aspiration for democracy.

In order to try to restore Togo's dignity, to give back to Togolese the taste for life and the means of living, and for the Togolese Republic to be and remain united, we will all go to Colmar or somewhere else tomorrow or some other day.

Political Groups Comment on Franco-German Talks

AB0502181593 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] Concerning the roundtable talks scheduled to take place at Colmar, France, the Centrist Democratic Party [PDC] takes note of the joint Franco-German proposal inviting Togolese protagonists to a roundtable conference. It expresses delight over this initiative, which falls in line with its own philosophy, namely: peaceful settlement of the crisis through dialogue and consultations. However, the PDC expresses reservations about the composition of the delegations and the manner in which the venue of this roundtable conference was chosen.

In fact, concerning the composition of the delegation, the PDC thinks that to avoid this roundtable conference becoming a failure like the sovereign national conference, the composition of the delegation should respect the principle of equality. Furthermore, since the problem of security constitutes an important issue in this crisis, it would be necessary that security forces be associated with this meeting.

Finally, the PDC calls on the organizers to display absolute neutrality during this important meeting, and also calls on the two sides to transcend their partisan ambitions and make an effort to accept one another in order to find a lasting solution to this crisis.

Concerning the inter-Togolese roundtable conference originally scheduled to take place in Strasbourg, the UDPS [expansion unknown] and the Rally of Independent and Democratic Associations, in a joint statement, state that since Togo is a sovereign state not at war, no foreign force can unilaterally decide to convene a meeting of Togolese political leaders wherever, whenever, and however it likes. Even if there was war in Togo, a reconciliation meeting on Togolese soil would have had a more positive impact than a tourist trip by a

handful of Togolese to the headquarters of not even the Economic Community of West African States or the OAU, but the EEC.

Figures Released on Departing, Returning Togolese

AB0702105093 Lome Radio Lome in French 2200 GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] Before beginning this newscast, here is an information note we have just received from the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Security:

Since the call on people to leave the country by well-organized groups, which have embarked on a strategy of general psychosis in our country, a lot of figures have been advanced on the migratory movement of the people of Lome. Such figures have undergone a lot of speculation aimed at manipulating public opinion.

In order to put an end to this unscrupulous behavior which distorts reality, immigration services of our country want to make the following clarifications:

At Aflao: number of persons who have left, 75,600; number of people entering Togo, 42,000; that is, a total of 33,600 persons who have left by that post.

At Hila Kondji: number of persons who have left, 29,532; number of people entering, 4,532; that is a total of 25,000 persons who have actually left. This brings to 58,600 the total number of persons who have left the country through the two border posts of Aflao and Hila Kondji.

This figure was recorded over the period from 31 January 1993, just after the events, to 6 February, 1993 at 1800. It should be noted that at Hila Kondji, a lot of returnees were recorded after the end of the visit of Pope John Paul II to Benin.

[Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation in English at 0600 GMT on 7 February carries the following report on the same issue in its newscast: "Between 80,000 and 90,000 refugees from Togo have flooded into Ghana since last Saturday's [31 January] rampage by troops in Lome. According to official figures, about 120,000 people have crossed from Togo into Ghana and Benin. More are believed to have slipped across the frontiers illegally. A Ghanaian security official at Aflao, Mr. John Taylor, said the refugees included Lebanese, Syrian, and Indian traders resident in Lome for several years. He said Ghanaian aid officials are striving to supply food and medical supplies to the refugees, but the influx is putting a serious strain on the town which has a population of about 150,000."]

Minister Meets Security Authorities, Businessmen
AB0702110293 Lome Radio Lome in French 1900
GMT 6 Feb 93

[Text] The minister of territorial administration and security, Mr. Agbeyome Kodjo, this morning at the Hotel 2 Fevrier in Lome presided over an important meeting attended by the Togolese security authorities, foreign businessmen, and victims of last week's looting and vandalism. The purpose of this meeting is to explain to the victims how the incidents occurred and find ways and means of avoiding a repetition of all this, namely, the looting.

In line with the series of planned security measures, the minister of territorial administration and security, Messan Agbeyome Kodjo, disclosed that open public telephone number 22-21-21, called SOS Security, will be

placed at the disposal of the population so that circulating rumors can be verified. One can also call the number for help whenever one feels that his life or property is threatened. So, how will this telephone line operate? The minister gives details on this:

[Begin recording] This telephone line will operate around the clock, and a team of security forces with defense and protection equipment is ready to intervene to protect all those who reside on the national territory, both Togolese and foreign communities alike. Togo continues to be a country of hospitality and a land of business opportunities. Nothing must distract it from this traditional role, which has made it the turning point in the subregion for several years. Hope is, therefore, not lost. Together, let us join our efforts so that Lome will regain and conserve its reputation for being the city of beauty, protection, and the capital of peace. [end recording]

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